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ART. I.—THE POWER BEHIND THE  
FRENCH GOVERNMENT.

*La Pétition contre la Franc-Maçonnerie à la 11<sup>e</sup> Commission des Pétitions de la Chambre des Députés. Motifs et Conclusions de la Commission. Exposé présenté à la Commission par M. PRACHE, Député de Paris, Rapporteur. Paris : Bureaux de la Patrie Française.*

IN discussing the bearing of M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Law of Association on the religious congregations in France, we ventured, in an article for this REVIEW in January last, to express the fear that legislation inspired by such a spirit of ostracism must become a weapon of offence against those for whose repression it was forged : the congregations would be sadly thinned, not only by the voluntary exile of some, but still more by the compulsory dispersion and dissolution of others. Over and over again when the Bill seemed in jeopardy M. Waldeck-Rousseau assured the Chamber of Deputies that its penalising articles would be interpreted and applied with a large liberality, if not in a spirit of positive benevolence. Others, however,

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took a darker view, and they have now the sorry satisfaction of being able to tell the world that they have been justified by recent events. M. Waldeck-Rousseau is no longer in the position to make good his promises. His place has been taken by a man of narrower mould, whose sole claim to the confidence of Republicans is that he has the determination to enforce the Association Law, not in those clauses by which public liberty is extended, but in the articles under which the religious congregations may be squeezed out of existence. That, declared M. Combes, was the object for which he had been called to the head of affairs. Nor did he delay in setting about a work so congenial to his heart. On June 27th a Decree was issued for the closing of 135 establishments, mostly schools for girls, alleged to be directly dependent on religious congregations, which had been opened since the passing of the Law without asking for the authorisation declared by it to be necessary. As a matter of fact, these establishments belonged to lay proprietors, whose paid servants the religious were, and they had been opened on the strength of an explanation made by M. Waldeck-Rousseau himself to the effect that such houses, not being religious establishments, could not be called upon to seek official recognition. M. Combes, however, took a different view and acted upon it, and so well satisfied was he that, when interpellated in the Chamber on the Decree and the inconsiderate if not brutal haste with which it was being executed, declared that what he had done was only the first act, which would be quickly followed by others.

In the happy position for a prophet of being able and only too willing to bring about his own predictions, he was again as good as his word, and in the promptest manner possible. After an interval of no more than a fortnight, on the 15th of July he issued a circular to the Prefects of the Departments, ordering them to ascertain what institutions in their several districts belonging to authorised congregations had neglected to apply for authorisation, and to notify to their superiors that they must, within eight days, close their doors and retire with their communities to the mother-houses of their respective orders. No fewer than 2,500



institutions, mostly primary schools, were affected by this sweeping circular, which, against all legal precedent and in direct contravention of the assurances given by M. Waldeck-Rousseau, made the provisions of the Law retro-active. Many of the schools in question, which had been founded in full conformity with the laws regulating the opening of schools, had naturally refrained from seeking for a recognition which had been declared to be unnecessary, especially as in several cases official documents were in their possession allowing them to acquire property, and to receive legacies and donations. But M. Combes, in his consuming zeal for the Law as interpreted by a circular of the Council of State which did not appear until the expiration of the period for applying for authorisation, would listen to nothing that might stay his hand. Only at first, however, for the storm that was aroused by his action quickly convinced him that there was danger ahead. With a ministerial organ like the *Temps* turning candid friend and telling him that his measures were unwarranted, impolitic, and even illegal, with demonstrations in the streets of Paris, and with armed peasants and fisher-folk barricading and mounting guard over their schools in Brittany, he at last recognised that he had gone too far. He therefore made haste to abate his first frantic demand, and affecting a reasonableness which should have preceded his action, promised immunity to charitable institutions and to schools which could show documentary evidence of some sort of official recognition. The recalcitrant schools were, however, closed amid scenes that held the attention of Europe; and it now remains to be seen in what spirit the 13,000 applications for authorisation sent in by the houses of the various congregations will be dealt with by the Government.

### I.

With all this before our eyes, it is clear that we are in the midst of one of those outbursts of anti-clerical violence which unfortunately seem to be periodic in the career of the Third Republic. The question naturally arises in our minds, what is the source of this fresh outbreak? The

alleged cause, the pretext we know—that the religious congregations foster and perpetuate divisions amongst the people and undermine the Republic. But we also know that the most ardent supporters of the penal clauses of the new Law directed against the congregations were unable to bring forward a single definite fact which could be verified to prove this monstrous charge. And we know, moreover, that the perfervid zeal of M. Combes has not even the poor justification of any case of scandal or disorder in the schools which he has closed. We are therefore compelled to seek elsewhere the source of this latest campaign against religious men and women. Where was the plan of campaign drawn out—who gave the order for the attack? The answer to questions of this nature was briefly mentioned in our previous article, though not insisted upon or set out in any detail.

It is the influence of Freemasonry which must be set down as the driving-power of the present recrudescence of the anti-clerical spirit in France. During the course of the debates on the Associations Law, M. Prache, one of the Deputies for Paris, brought forward a large mass of evidence which, instead of being disputed, was cheered with all the more heartiness by those whom it condemned, and laid bare the dark designs of the Lodges against the communities and the Church. M. Aynard, too, a vice-president of the Chamber and one of the old guard of Liberalism, declared that the hidden power exercised on the Government by Freemasonry was “a demonstrated fact,” and similar statements were made in the Senate where M. de Marcère, a Liberal as staunch as M. Aynard, asserted without contradiction that the Bill had “its origin in Freemasonry.”

Since then various pronouncements to the same effect have been made by personages whose position invests their words with authority. Pope Leo XIII., looking out from his high watch-tower upon a sea of troubles and observing the signs and the storms of the day, has, in his recent apostolic letter on the evils of the time, which he asks us to receive as the last solemn testament of one who stands at the everlasting doors, deemed it his duty to

formulate a new and serious indictment against the tendencies and designs of foreign Freemasonry. In his Encyclical of 1894 entitled *Humanum Genus*, His Holiness had denounced "its destructive tendencies, its erroneous doctrines, its wicked works"; but with recent events in France and the Latin countries generally before his eyes, he has now gone further and reiterated these charges. Freemasonry is, says the Holy Father, "a germ of mortal disease" which for many years society has carried in its loins, which—

"Saps its health, its fruitfulness, its very life. An enduring personification of revolutionary principles, it constitutes a kind of inverted society whose object is to exercise a hidden suzerainty over society, and the very reason of whose being is nothing else than to urge war against God and against His Church. Embracing as it does in its vast net almost all the nations, and allying itself with other sects which it sets in motion by means of hidden strings, first attracting and then keeping its hold on its members by means of the advantages which it secures to them, bending governments to its purposes, now by promises, now by threats, this sect has succeeded in permeating all classes of society. It forms a kind of invisible and irresponsible state within the legitimate State."

Where the chief Pastor spoke so confidently, it was not likely that the bishops of France, smarting under the assaults of the agents of the Lodges, should fear to follow. Their pronouncements against the action taken by M. Combes have furnished forth a veritable cloud of witnesses against the machinations of Masonry against religion. These serious charges have been ignored in England or read with an incredulous smile, as the ravings of baffled ecclesiastics, or the angry rhetoric of politicians at a loss to discredit their opponents. Remembering the Diana Vaughan fiasco, and going upon what they know of the convivial and philanthropic character of English Freemasonry, people here, not unnaturally perhaps, refuse to believe that the Order in France is anything more dangerous than a needless nightmare to the ecclesiastical mind. The fact that it abrogated, in 1877, the article of its constitutions which recognised the existence of the Supreme Architect of the Universe, and substituted words which

introduced a narrow materialism in place of its former vague deism, seems to be unheeded or forgotten. Since then the tendencies of the French Lodges have become more and more identified with Atheism of a militant and aggressive type. For this reason the French Lodges were solemnly excommunicated by the Grand Master of the United States in 1888, an example which was followed by the Grand Master of the Brotherhood in England. Therefore, says a well-informed writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, "the position of Masonry as it exists now in France is clearly defined. It is, or should be, in the eyes of Anglo-Saxon Masons absolutely heretical, and to be considered only as a political organisation that masquerades under an otherwise honourable name."

## II.

But we are not now left to form a judgment upon mere general expressions of opinion or even such facts as these : we have lately been supplied with a mass of evidence the accumulative force of which cannot be pooh-poohed or explained away. It was not likely that the Supreme Pontiff or the archbishops and bishops of the Church of France would give themselves away by making such serious charges against an adversary so powerful for harm without feeling absolutely secure of their position. Nor is M. de Marcère or M. Aynard the sort of man to say in the Chamber the thing that is not. As a matter of fact, this very question of the bearing of Freemasonry on society in general and on the Government in particular was, at the time they spoke, before a Committee of the Chamber of Deputies. Shortly after the League trials a monster petition, promoted by M. Jules Lemaître, denouncing Freemasonry as a secret society and an illegal association enjoying exceptional privileges and exercising dangerous and illicit influence in the government of the country, had been signed by 80,000 citizens and presented to the Chamber. The standing of the Deputies by whom it was backed, the number of the signatories, and the gravity of charges set forth above their names, made it impossible for the Chamber to ignore it. It must at least be dealt

with in the usual way. It was accordingly handed over to the eleventh Commission of Petitions for examination, and M. Prache, a young man with an extensive knowledge of Freemasonry, was appointed Reporter. From the important collection of documents in his own possession, and from the further evidence he was officially empowered to impound, he drew up a preliminary statement in which he examined one by one the various counts of the charge in the light of the authentic testimony at his disposal.

The petitioners alleged that Freemasonry in France is a society the secret character of which, unlawful in itself, derives a special seriousness from the fact that it gives orders to the Government and compels the nation's law-makers to vote Bills elaborated in the secret conclaves of the Lodges. Indeed, its object seems to be the absorption of the public authorities. Its relations with foreign Freemasonry are secret, and, for that reason, suspect. Though all ought to be equal before the law, this secret political society enjoys a *régime* of tolerance which is not extended to other associations that carry on their work in full sight of the public eye. Under these circumstances the petitioners concluded by calling on the Chamber to guard against the violation of the principle of equality in favour of Freemasonry by requiring the Minister of Justice to enforce the laws.

In an exhaustive report, M. Prache showed the Commission that the complaints above enumerated were only too well founded. The Laws of 1848 and 1881 against the establishment of secret societies had been radically changed by M. Waldeck-Rousseau's new Law on Association, but without enabling Freemasonry to evade the charges brought against it. The Parliamentary Commission requested M. Prache to continue and complete his investigation by examining whether the facts alleged by the petitioners fell under the provisions of the new Law passed whilst the petition was under consideration, and whether it could still be urged that "the principle of equality of all citizens before the law was still violated in the interest of Freemasonry." With what care and ability M. Prache fulfilled his complicated task we shall soon see. Here, in

close juxtaposition with the charges made, it will be well for the sake of clearness to state at once the points upon which, after a careful weighing of the evidence drawn from the documents of Masonry, the Commission decided that a case for the petitioners had been made out.

The Commission, in the first place, asserts its conviction that a number of damning facts have been proved :—

“Freemasonry, with its federated associations, constitutes a secret society which dissimulates with the greatest care its immediate object and its means of action.

“The prime and real object pursued by it is to capture the reins of power and so to be in a position to impose upon fellow-citizens its own philosophical and political doctrines, in order that, as one of its official orators was allowed to declare in 1890, ‘Outside those doctrines no one in France shall move.’

“In defiance of all law and in a multitude of illegal ways, Masonry exerts an incontestable influence over the State—an influence which manifests itself in assaults upon the liberties and rights of citizens, in encroachments upon constituted authority, and in an increasing interference in the public services.

“Its subjects are compelled, on their honour and consciences, to enter into engagements which fetter for ever their liberty of conscience, at least in social life, and their personal political freedom.

“By means which can be justified by no right of canvass nor the influence which political groups or associations may claim, Masonry endeavours to put pressure upon the Government and to obtain from it the complaisance, favour, and services which are calculated to secure its own predominance.

“Masons who are Deputies are placed, without their constituents knowing or even so much as suspecting it, under obligations and orders which are veritable invasions of the sovereignty of the nation and of their own independence as the depositories of the mandates of the people.

“In contravention of the principle of equality of all citizens where candidature for the service of the State is concerned, Freemasonry seeks to secure for its own alone the positions in the public services. Large numbers of the functionaries, too, are won over to, and brigaded by, the Lodges; or into the numerous societies in more or less secret connection with them. These men are at need supported against their superiors, carried over the heads of their seniors by advancement so rapid as to be scandalous, to the prejudice of their colleagues and of the public good. Thus, in violation of every principle and regulation of the law, by the oaths solemnly taken at the time of

initiation and under the menace of pains and penalties at the hands of their order, the Lodges obtain information and all sorts of favours and services, especially in electoral matters.

"Similarly, Freemasonry has insinuated itself into the ranks of the national teachers, and makes use of the masters, who are its subjects or willing slaves, for the propagation of its own philosophical doctrines.

"Through its relations with foreign Freemasonry and its associations in the colonies it exercises, or endeavours to exercise, an influence altogether inadmissible over the foreign policy of France.

"At home its subjects are advised to make over to it, through intermediaries, the benefactions solicited of them. Thus, what are really properties in mortmain, are obtained under the cloak of their belonging to civil societies.

"Quite unfairly the Masonic associations dispense themselves from the payment of the five per cent. tax on income and of the tax of *abonnement*, both of which ought to fall upon them.

"Lastly, in defiance of Articles 3 and 10 of the Press Law of July 29th, 1881, Freemasonry no longer supplies copies of its publications and periodicals, notably those containing accounts of its meetings, to the administration or the courts."

By these proved facts the Commission is of opinion that Freemasonry is brought within the grip of the law in three ways. According to declarations made in the Chamber and the Senate during the discussion of the Association's Law by M. Waldeck-Rousseau himself—

(1) "Associations 'which commit, or propose to commit, acts contrary to the law,' which 'make attacks on the rights guaranteed by the law,' or 'provoke acts in contravention of the law,' have, by the terms of Article 3 of the Law of July 1st, 1901, an object and a cause which are illicit, and are therefore null and void.

(2) "By aiming 'to acquire the domination of men's minds and the direction of consciences' (in family and social life, if not in the inner court of conscience); by seeking 'to form the new generations, to occupy the ranks of the public service and to have the distribution of its offices, to place those who serve it in every department of the State, to combine [Masonic] faith with private interest, to place someone who knows its mind in every position of place and power,' Freemasonry directly contravenes the requirements of public order, and is thereby, according to common law (Articles 1131 and 1133 of the Civil Code, and Article 3 of the Law of July, 1901), null and void.



(3) "Its societies violate the provisions of the fiscal laws which relate to associations, and also of the Law of July 29th, 1881, on the Press."

This finding, based exclusively upon the first-hand evidence afforded by Masonic official papers and the declarations of the exponents of Masonry, delivered by a body of politicians little likely to entertain any bias against the Brotherhood, or to do anything that could compromise it, constitutes a more damning indictment than any ever penned by pope or prelate, and one, too, which stands a better chance of gaining the ear of the world.

But what is even more important is that the evidence on which it was based should be brought into notice. It would take us too far to follow M. Prache in his proofs for each count of the charge thus brought against Freemasonry, but we may profitably summarise the evidence upon which the main points concerning Masonry's anti-religious tendencies and action is based. We propose, therefore, to examine briefly those parts of the evidence adduced by M. Prache in demonstration of the anti-religious aim of French Freemasonry, its political character, its secret interference in the civil administration of the country and the privileged position, so profitable to itself, which it has achieved.

### III.

Freemasonry in France comprises four great federations, or Rites: the Grand-Orient, the Scottish Rite, the Rite of Misraim, and Mixed Masonry. Half a century ago it partook largely of the character of a friendly and philanthropic society, with decided convivial tendencies. Little by little, however, it became infected with the spirit of unbelief and the worst principles of the Revolution. It may now be said, so rapid has been its progress on these lines, that its animating spirit is that of '93 and the Directory, not that of '89. As it now exists it would seem to be the result of a two-fold evolution, one speculative, the other practical. The first was completed in 1877 and 1879, when the Grand Orient and the Grand Lodge of the Scottish Rite struck out of their formulas the mention of



the Great Architect of the Universe. This was not done without a protest. One of those who voiced it was Brother Hubert, who, in the *Chaine d'Union*, pointed out that if Positivist teaching should obtain exclusive possession of the Grand-Orient, Masonry would become nothing more than a sect, and would resemble the very churches which it sought to combat. How well justified was this far-seeing judgment was strikingly demonstrated in 1885 when the Grand Convention, the annual assembly of the various Lodges of the Grand-Orient, completed the practical evolutionary process that had been silently going on for years by striking out of its statutes the following paragraph:—

“Freemasonry excludes no one on account of his belief. In the elevated sphere in which it is placed, it respects the religious faith and the political opinions of each of its members.”

The character of intolerant exclusiveness which could not fail to develop after the formal abandonment of the principle of liberty contained in this paragraph, naturally disgusted those of its members who were neither sectaries nor Jacobins, and no fewer than 3,000 gradually left the Lodges. Deprived of the guidance and influence of these more Liberal spirits, it is in no way surprising that antagonism to the religious idea and to religion should rapidly gather strength and bitterness. Even in 1885 M. Fernand-Faure, the official orator of the Grand Convention, had explained to the representatives of the Lodges that Masonry ought to strive for the elimination not only of religious influence, but of all metaphysical ideas, and that it ought to be, in a way, “the professional association of Freethinkers.” This aim has been still further emphasised by no less considerable a person than Brother Combes, the present Premier, who, in 1887, told his brethren that “the morality of Masonry ought to be put in the place of the moral teaching of religions that had had their day”—a statement which has been still more pointedly put by Brother de Lanessan, Minister of Marine in M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Cabinet, who has had the awful audacity to declare—

“ Nous devons écraser l'Infâme ; mais l'Infâme, ce n'est pas le cléricalisme ; l'Infâme, c'est Dieu.”

What is thus avowed and cheered in the Lodges and Conventions is not paraded before the public, to whom is preached the doctrine of toleration and liberty, coupled, in the case of active measures against Catholicism, with the plausible distinction drawn between it and clericalism. This, of course, is a mere blind, the object and insincerity of which is well understood in the Lodges, where it is well known that, in the words of one of the Councillors of the Grand-Orient, M. Courdaveaux, “the distinction between Catholicism and Clericalism is purely official and subtle, and for the needs of the tribune. In the Lodges Catholicism and Clericalism are one and the same.” That these are no mere words, but represent a policy, may be gathered from the words of initiation found in the ritual of the Lodge, *La Clemente Amitié* :—

“Tolerance in theory does not involve tolerance in practice. We are the irreconcilable adversaries of all organisations which tend to deny man the use of his free will, especially such religious organisations as wish to enslave us. We declare ourselves the enemies of all priests and monks.”

After such a declaration, we can well understand that a congress of Lodges should consider it needless to pass a resolution asserting religious teaching and practices to be an obstacle to “the intellectual and moral perfection of humanity.” It is thus, as far as Masonry is concerned, a war to the death against Catholicism as the only serious upholder of the religious idea. The separation of Church and State is, therefore, the great plank in the Masonic political platform ; but it is a reform not to be pressed until the Church has been rendered powerless by being so bound in fetters that she will be utterly unable to take advantage of the opportunities that freedom from connection with the State would bring. Liberty is useless to the paralysed. She must, accordingly, be first deprived of all means of influencing the generations to come, and of her ability to satisfy the yearnings after the higher life of the counsels of perfection. The first attack has been for years

astutely directed against the religious orders. An end has been put to teaching by unauthorised congregations, and an effectual limit has been set to the work and expansion of those that are authorised. Much has been done and much remains to do, but the way is plain. The means by which so much has been effected and by which the domination of the country's mind and conscience is to be secured, is the capturing of the public powers. Fill the Senate and the Chamber with its faithful subjects, and the Ministry is its own ; permeate the public services and the municipal councils with its creatures, and the Ministry will have an easy way open for influencing the people and working its will, which will be the will of the Lodges.

We are thus brought to what is the vital point of this Report presented to Parliament—the demonstration of the anti-religious and political character and methods of French Freemasonry. There is no need to enter into any elaborate detail to prove its character of a secret society. It will be sufficient to note that the Grand Orient imposes on its candidates for its apprenticeship an oath in which the candidate promises “to keep inviolate the Masonic secret,” and consents to undergo the penalties due to any failure in that respect. Up till the year 1893 Freemasons were allowed to publish their opinions on Masonic questions. This, however, was then prohibited ; and three years later the secret was still further safeguarded even in the necessary publications of the sect by a liberal use of asterisks to denote omissions dictated by prudence. The reason for this secrecy was set forth as absolute necessity : if its aims and means were known, the power of Masonry would be gone.

#### IV.

But, as we have said, the most important part of the Report, at any rate for the general reader, lies in the proof it adduces for the long familiar statements concerning the political action of Freemasonry. This formed the main charge brought by the signatories of M. Jules Lemaître's Petition, and the verdict of the Commission declares that M. Prache's examination of the documents of Masonry has proved the charge to be well-founded.

It is to be remarked at the outset that Freemasons have not been backward in congratulating themselves on the results attained by the intervention of the Lodges in politics. When, in March, 1899, the action taken against certain Leagues aroused a spirit of retaliation in those attacked, the situation and rôle of Freemasonry in the country was forced upon public attention. The *Temps* published an interview with one of the most prominent members of the Council of the Grand-Orient, thought to be M. Jeanvrot, of the Angers Court of Appeal. This gentleman, speaking under the reserve more than ever necessary at such a difficult time, denied indeed, that Masons mixed themselves up with politics, but went on to explain that as philosophers engaged in the study of universal morality, they devoted themselves to the elaboration of political doctrines.

"We are thus in constant connection with the public authorities, since the greater part of the great social reforms have found their origin and support in the Lodges of Freemasons. . . . See what has been done in our own days : the laws making education compulsory and secular, Naquet's defence of divorce, etc. There has been in every case entire accord between our representatives and those of the public powers."

There can be no mistaking the drift of these admissions in spite of their reserve, a reserve which the official orators of the Grand Convention, speaking among their own, have had no need to assume. Rather do they glory in the fact that their Lodges are important centres of legislative initiative. M. Maréchaux, for example, the orator for the year 1890, closed an enumeration of the laws that owe their origin to the Lodges with these words :—

"It is again from our ateliers that has issued the famous educational legislation, which, with the military law, forms the intangible laws of the Republic."

#### V.

So much for generalities. Let us now go more into particulars, and by the aid of the publications of the Lodges watch the gradual preparation of the legislation which is at the bottom of the crisis through which France is at present passing. The country is still quivering with the excitement

aroused by the debatable methods in which M. Combes has sought to execute the Law of Association ; and by the time these pages are in their hands our readers will be anxiously watching how Parliament will deal with further legislation for placing new difficulties in the way of religious education by the abrogation of the Falloux Law. This proposal is only a logical development of the suspended School Stage Bill, which again had its origin in the notorious Vœu Pochon. M. Pochon, who was Deputy for the Ain district, proposed that Parliament should declare that no Frenchman should be eligible for any State employment unless he had been educated in a Government school. This again was a mere drafting in legislative form of a petition presented by the Lodge of Moulins to the Congress of the Lodges of the East in 1888. So acceptable was the idea contained in it that it was taken up by the Grand-Orient, and published by it in 1891. The Grand Convention, too, passed a resolution for the religious congregations being prohibited from teaching. Furthermore, the Council of the Order was invited to require all Freemasons in Parliament to associate themselves with every order of the day calling upon the Government henceforward to choose its young functionaries from those candidates only who had been educated in State establishments. In addition to this a scrupulous inquiry into the political attitude of these candidates was demanded, and as a means of securing the correctness of that attitude, the Government was besought to admit to the entrance examinations only those who had passed the last two years of their school life in a State college or in establishments conducted on secular lines.

This was too glaring an attack upon Republican liberty to be received in silence. Several members of the Convention ventured to remonstrate, whereupon they were told by one of the thorough-going supporters of the resolution :

“Are we Freemasons libertarians ? We are sectaries whose dominant desire is the safety of the Republic. . . . Consequently, whether the project is for or against liberty, from the moment that the welfare of the Republic is bound up in

it, I tell you : 'Vote for the resolution, without fear or hesitation.'"

The Masonic origin of the Vœu Pochon, and so of its present developments, was admitted at the same time by Brother Blatin, the official orator of the Convention :

"The resolution took its birth, brethren, in your breast, in the womb of Masonry itself, coming forth from the Convention and the Council of the Order. Last year, after certain manifestations in this direction, many of the Lodges set themselves to study the question, and the first to set an initiative, it must be allowed, was that over which our brother of Moulins presides. This was followed by a series of resolutions calling upon the Council to use all its influence with the public authorities to obtain the satisfaction demanded. The Council consequently assembled all the deputies and senators who were Freemasons (not all attended, though all were summoned). They were informed of the resolutions which had been sent up from a great number of Lodges ; and Brother Floquet and Brother Brisson attended, as well as a great number of our most influential friends in Parliament, with the result that after an address from Brother Thulié, and an equally interesting discourse from Brother Brisson, there was a unanimous vote in favour of the Vœu Pochon." (*Bulletin du Grand-Orient*, 1891, p. 433.)

For the next six years questions connected with national education were uppermost in the discussions of the Lodges and of the annual Convention. Thus was the way slowly but surely prepared for the resolution taken by the Convention of 1898, which, on the motion of Brother Geyer, called for the abrogation of the Falloux Law, and for a State monopoly of education. M. Geyer, in combating the objection that to prohibit the religious congregations, the only class of citizens which, as a class, took advantage of liberty of teaching, would be an invasion of a right guaranteed by the Republic, contended that there could be no question of liberty for such useless beings, whom neither nature nor society could recognise. The Convention ended by calling upon the Council to make "the necessary arrangements" with the public powers for the resolution to be translated into a Bill to be presented to Parliament.

The result of these arrangements was soon evident. In the November of that same year, three Deputies, M.M. Levrand, Rabier and Poulain, Freemasons all, and the first mentioned a Member of the Council of the Order, presented to the Chamber propositions embodying the objects put forward in the resolution adopted by the Convention. Honourable mention in the transactions of the Grand-Orient was the reward for their pains, and in the following year the Grand Convention and the Congress of the Paris Lodges re-affirmed the resolution of the preceding year. Similar resolutions were voted in 1900 and 1901. The arguments by which they were recommended to the Brethren may be judged from the words used by Brother Lecocq, the Reporter of the Commission of Social and Political Studies to the Convention of 1900. The principle contained in the resolution, he urged, lay at the basis of all reform. Their object in pressing it was to compel the State to take up a right and a duty which was its own exclusive possession, and to achieve moral unity in the country by a unified system of education, inspired by the lay or secular spirit. Any lack of definiteness in these declarations were assuredly supplied by the pointed address of his successor in office in 1901. Brother Buisson, in his speech to the Convention, said :

“ We must also laicise the education of women by depriving priests, and monks, and nuns of all right to teach, and by making it a penal offence to have recourse to the services of these classes of individuals for the education of children. We must, moreover, secure the abrogation of the Falloux Law, and organise the State monopoly of education by a system of national schools, giving a national education.”

So far the Lodges and the Grand-Orient. And now, in 1902, we have a Government in power which is turning children out of religious schools, even in communes where there is no other provision for elementary education, and which has made the abrogation of the Falloux Law one of the chief features in its political programme. The connection between cause and effect in all this is plain and indisputable.



## VI.

The clauses in the Law of Association against the religious might similarly be traced back step by step to the same source. Whilst all Republicans had for years called for legislation which would set the right of association in some conformity with the interests and needs of a free people, Masonry was working in a different direction. The liberty that was to be extended in the case of others was to be restricted and even taken away from the religious, so that it may be truly said that to the Lodges a Law on Association meant nothing more than a law against the congregations. Such, indeed, M. Waldeck-Rousseau's Bill became before it had come to the end of its passage through Parliament, and the drastic changes introduced in it which bear so heavily upon the congregations were assuredly the result of the working of the leaven manufactured in the Lodges.

Even as far back as 1880 much interest was displayed by Masons in a map indicating the localities where there were unauthorised congregations, drawn up by Brother Ranc, who, writing in the *Chaîne d'Union*, expressed his hope of seeing "this great multitude of creatures restored to an active social life that would be productive and useful." Coming nearer to the present day, in 1890, a draft Bill was presented to the Lodges of the Left Bank by the first article of which it was enacted that all religious congregations should be dissolved, and all their property of all kinds should be confiscated. A year afterwards, the *Chapter Encyclopædic* of Toulouse, in calling for the suppression of the congregations, suggested that their property should go to the Assistance Publique. The Convention of the same year called upon all Freemasons in Parliament to associate themselves with all measures tending to the suppression of the religious congregations. A similar resolution was passed by the Convention of 1892, whilst that of 1896 went further and prescribed that the property of the congregations and the expenditure provided for in the Budget of Public Worship should be applied to the formation of a national pension fund. This



resolution, it will be remembered, supplied M. Waldeck-Rousseau with the chief bait which he dangled before the eyes of the democracy when he brought forward his great Bill. In 1898, the Convention again called for the suppression of the congregations. Lastly, may be noticed what happened at the Congress of the North African Lodges held at Bône in 1900. A resolution was proposed calling for rigorous measures for the prevention of the Jesuits and other congregations from interfering in politics and placing obstacles in the way of the forward march of the democracy. The Government was also invited to take up M. Brisson's Bill dealing with the property of the Congregations. This resolution was, however, withdrawn, not because it was unacceptable, but simply because the representative of the Grand-Orient pointed out that Brother Brisson had not yet completed his statistical investigations. Those investigations were afterwards pursued on its own account by the Government of the day, and supplied the great argument by which public favour was sought for a Bill assailing the liberty of a whole category of citizens.

Here then, we have evidence of the way in which two measures of first-class importance, originated in the Lodges, have been forced upon the attention of the Government of the country, for one of which the approval of Parliament has been already gained, whilst for the other there is every prospect that it will be passed by the Jacobin majority which at present rules the Chamber. The Law already passed and the Bill in such immediate prospect are parts of the deeply-laid scheme for paralysing the action of the Church before her separation from the State is effected. That object had been clearly set forth in the Convention of 1894 by the Orator Brother Gadaud, a Senator, and since a Minister of State :

"It is feared that the fervour and generosity of the faithful may increase when once the Churches are free of the control of the State, and that the Churches, by this accession of strength, may become a more serious menace to the civil power. That is an utter mistake. With a Law on Association *properly drafted*, all danger of this sort would be removed."

Examples could be multiplied, and would but concur in

demonstrating the charge that Masonry prides itself in being a laboratory of Parliamentary Bills, in the elaboration of which a general spirit is dominant, a spirit defined by the Orator of the Convention of 1892 as follows :

“When everyone in France has turned Republican, it is only natural that there shall be formed in our country a party in favour of the true Republic ; the watchword of which should be that of our present Convention : thorough-going anti-Clericalism and lay and libertarian Socialism.”

## VII.

But mere attempts to inspire legislation in furtherance of the special objects of Freemasonry would be of little avail, unless there was an organisation ready to use its best efforts to ensure their ultimate success. Masonry has, therefore, been careful during recent years to organise its forces in order to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the *régime* of the Parliamentary Republic, and to educate and influence the electors, and to capture their representatives. Brother Colfavru, President of the Council of the Order, told the Convention of 1885 that the time had come for an appeal to all Brothers who were in Parliament, and “who owed their elevation in so large a measure to Freemasonry :”—a fact which only showed how effective had been a circular sent round a short time before calling upon all Masons to unite in the electoral struggle at hand, in order the better to carry to victory their “political views and their philosophical and political principles.” Still more definite in this respect was the declaration made at the Convention dinner of 1886 by Brother Gonnard :—

“There was a time when it was the custom to declare that Masonry had nothing to do with either religion or politics. Was that hypocrisy? No; it was under the pressure of the law that we were obliged to dissimulate our real and only mission. Yes; we do busy ourselves with politics. What but politics do you discuss in all your assemblies?”

Let us now turn to consider, for a moment, how Masonry goes to work in order to give effect to its policy. The shortest way is, of course, to capture the Chambers

that make the laws of the country. Accordingly, its members are called upon to do all they can in their respective districts to select and nominate "suitable" candidates for municipal and parliamentary honours. What is expected from those candidates was formerly laid down by the Grand Convention of 1892:—

"It is the bounden duty of a Freemason in a Municipal Council to demand and vote for the suppression of every allowance made to the curés and their assistants, . . . to give an exclusive support to secular instruction, and to prohibit all manifestations of religion in the streets.

"It is the bounden duty of a Freemason who is a Councillor General to oppose any grant for the support of the bishop, seminaries, or any other institutions belonging to the diocese or the congregations, and to propose at every session a resolution for the separation of Church and State, and the suppression of the religious orders.

"It is the bounden duty of a Freemason who is a Member of Parliament to vote for the suppression of the Budget of Public Worship, and the allowances made to religion in the Budgets of different departments of State; to vote for the abolition of the Embassy at the Vatican, and to declare in favour of the separation of Church and State, without, however, in any way giving up the rights of the State over the Church; to use every effort to bring about the suppression of the religious houses, authorised or unauthorised, and the confiscation of their property; to oppose any violation or straining of the military law in favour of the clergy, secular or regular, by the Ministry of Public Worship, and more especially by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs; and lastly, to demand the exclusion of the scholars of the congregations or of ecclesiastical colleges from the special military schools, commissions in the army, and the ranks of the civil service." (*Bulletin of the Grand-Orient*, 1892, pp. 488-9.)

This is a programme which sheds a flood of light upon the aims and methods of Masonry, which requires all candidates claiming its support to bind themselves down to its various items. How its observance is ensured is seen in an instructive debate which took place at the Convention of 1897, seven months previous to the time of a general election. The Parisian Lodges were seeking to impose on their candidates a minimum but far-reaching programme, which included the separation of Church and State, the revision of the constitution, the suppression of

the congregations, and the imposition of a progressive income-tax, and which was to form part of the addresses issued to the electors. Fears were expressed by some, however, that so drastic a programme would endanger the return of some of the Masonic candidates. It was therefore, after further discussion, decided that

"All candidates at the forthcoming elections who look to Masonry for support, must hand in to the Venerable of their respective Lodges, who will send it on to the Council of the Order, a signed declaration of their philosophical and political principles, the former of which must be in conformity with the recent declaration of the Council, and the latter to the minimum programme of the Paris Lodges. Candidates are not, however, required to set forth this programme in their addresses."

Whilst thus bound by the most definite and the closest engagements to the Brotherhood, the nominee of Masonry was left at liberty to use his discretion in his dealings with the constituency for which he was to stand. His public declarations may or may not include any of the articles of his engagement to Masonry, which only cares that he shall be as good as his word, privately pledged to itself, after he has taken his place in the Chamber, and constantly reminds him of these obligations. Thus, whilst the electors give their representatives a mandate for four years, Masonry is at pains to give frequent indication to its creatures in Parliament of the way in which their votes must go. The Grand-Orient points the path and the Lodges see that their subjects take it. When, for example, in 1898 there was a question of establishing a national festival in honour of Joan of Arc, the Lodge *La Clemente Amité* addressed a circular to Freemason Deputies bidding them oppose the project. One Deputy, less servile than some of his fellows, resenting such interference, read the circular from the tribune, declaring that his only master was the French people, and that he would pay no heed to such underhand intervention between him and his constituents. Again, in 1899 the Convention called upon the Council of the Order to require the support of its Deputies for M. Rabier's Bill on education, and to prepare the way for it by a persistent education and canvass of

public opinion in the press and from the platform. The resolution was accepted and copies of it were sent to all Senators and Deputies and journalists who were members of the Lodges. Years before, in 1891, it had been resolved by the Grand Convention that all Deputies and Senators belonging to the Order should be convened at the headquarters of the Grand-Orient in the Rue Cadet, as often as might be necessary, for the purpose of informing them of the resolutions passed by the Lodges and of the trend of Masonic political opinion. What is done at these assemblies is indicated by an account, less definite than suggestive given of one such gathering in the *Bulletin of the Grand-Orient* for June, 1895 :—

“ In obedience to the commands of the last General Assembly, the Council held a meeting last month at the Grand-Orient of the Senators and Deputies who belong to the Order. Excellent results have followed. Many of our Brothers in Parliament attended. . . . The names of those who absented themselves without excuse were sent to their Lodges in accordance with the promise made by the Council. . . . The Masonic secret was respected, and no indiscretion was committed.”

From this curious and significant paragraph it is clear that those members of the legislative who are docile to the exacting claims of Masonry upon their obedience receive in the metropolitan temple of the sect the instructions which are to determine their line of political conduct, whilst those who prefer to place the will of their electors before the pretensions of Masonic Clericalism are denounced to their respective Lodges, by which they are punished with suspension and other penalties known to the Brotherhood.

#### VIII.

But it is not sufficient for the designs of Masonry that the legislative body should be captured: the administrative also must be imbued with its spirit and made subservient to its will. With this view, though up till 1891 the equal admissibility of all citizens to public employment without distinction of creed or political ideas was a principle of Republican liberty upheld by the Lodges, every effort is now made to clear the ranks of the public services of men

whose Republicanism is not of the Jacobin sort—anti-religious and socialistic. As Brother Lemaître told the Convention of 1893, it was well enough to occupy themselves with the elective bodies, but these were not always all-powerful; behind them were the functionaries who carried out their will, and who must therefore be of like minds with their masters. That suggestion evidently recommended itself to a body which had so far departed from the principles of Republican liberty as to adopt in 1891 the policy of restriction set forth in the *Vœu Pochon*, and to express dissatisfaction with the appointment of men whose principles were regarded as “reactionary.” The Grand-Orient went so far in 1894 as to establish a sort of police agency to deal with questions connected with functionaries. For this the finance committee of the Council of the Order proposed an addition to the staff, which was opposed by the finance committee of the Convention. The whole proposal was a mysterious one. It was at first explained that the increase was necessary for the work of “revising and completing the archives,” which was of the utmost importance to the prosperity of the Order. As nothing could be made out of these guarded words, Brother Lucipia, speaking on behalf of the Council, lifted a corner of the veil that shrouded the transaction, explaining that the matter was one which could not prudently be laid bare. He might say, however, that it was connected with the keeping of the archives on a new plan, which would include the gathering of political information. When to this Brother Blatin, Vice-President of the Council, had added that what was wanted was “an instrument of defence and combat,” the increase of the staff was granted without more ado. Rendered a little more expansive by the Convention banquet, Brother Dequaire pointed out that the organisation which had been approved would be of the greatest assistance in helping them to know what sort of men were appointed to represent the Republic in the different departments. To assist the work of the agency thus established, the Lodges were asked in the following year to send in to the Grand-Orient accounts of any infringements by functionaries of the



educational and military laws of the Republic. Going still further in the same direction, the Lodge of Saint-Auben moved a resolution at the Convention of 1898, inviting the Lodges to compile lists of all those in the public employ who might be "wanting in their duties," a phrase which, as became apparent from the speeches that followed, meant those who "sent their children to the Jesuits." There was some demur to the resolution at first as savouring too strongly of police espionage; but it was ultimately referred to the consideration of a Commission, after it had been pointed out that the Lodges were charged with the duty of the defence of the democratic Republic by compelling respect for its laws.

Whilst thus intent on effecting the *épuration* of the public services, Masonry does everything to secure the appointment of its own adepts, to whose protection and advancement it devotes itself. As far back as 1888 Brother Blatin could boast that the Order had organised in Parliament a veritable syndicate of Masons which, by its action, had rendered effective assistance to hundreds of their brethren who were functionaries. That this was no mere boast was shown by the deputation of the Council of the Order which waited upon Brother Floquet, who was at that time at the head of the Government, requesting him to take measures for the protection of such public servants as were Republicans and Freemasons, and for the replacement of such as were of Monarchist principles. In 1890 a Commission of Requests was established at the Grand-Orient for the defence of its members whose "profane situation was imperilled by their being Freemasons and by their attachment to the Order." Four years later, at the Congress of the Lodges of the Centre, held at Gien, a call was made for the creation of groups of Freemason Deputies and Senators who, at the request of the Lodges, should protect their brethren who were functionaries. It was furthermore resolved that Ministers who were Masons "should place Freemasons at the head of their respective services, who would be to them a precious help in carrying on a successful struggle against the Jesuitical organisation which influences the acts of our functionaries

in every department." A resolution to the same effect was adopted at a Congress of the Lodges of the North-West of France at Rouen, in 1899, when amongst other means determined upon to develop the influence of Masonry, were "the making of representations to those in power that they should inspire Masonic ideas, and the placing of the greatest number of Masons possible in public positions."

That these and similar resolutions have not been allowed to remain a dead letter is shown by M. Prache, who brings forward a large mass of evidence to prove the favouritism displayed in the treatment of functionaries who belong to the Lodges, and of their early and rapid promotion, which is unaccountable on any other supposition. This scandalous favouritism is seen in all grades and departments of the services, and not unfrequently forms the subject of congratulation at Congresses and Lodge meetings, as when a Congress at Algiers in 1900 rejoiced at the fact that the chief places in the administrative of the three departments of Algeria were occupied by Freemasons.

Such congratulation is, of course, only natural. Services similar in kind to those demanded from Freemasons in Parliament are expected of Freemasons in the administrative, especially of those who have to do with education, a department which, it is acknowledged, affords "the best base for extending our work." Here is an admission made by Brother Cuir, an inspector of elementary schools at Lille, at the Convention of 1896: "Last year you voted a resolution from my Lodge calling for the suppression of the congregations and for the laicisation of all schools. On my return home I transformed that resolution into an administrative proposal, and I have had the gratification of seeing the proposal taken up by my Prefect, who urged the laicisation of sixty schools in the north." For some reason or other the Education Department did not fall in with the policy of the Prefect, and the result of this backwardness on the part of the central authority was that Brother Cuir formerly complained to the Council of the Order.

This may seem a strange method of proceeding, but the



strangeness vanishes when we learn that the Council is accustomed to carry on inquiries at the same time that Government investigations are proceeding, in order that, under the seal of the secret, information may be obtained which may be of use to combat the depositions officially made. A flagrant case of this abuse happened in connection with the Parliamentary Commission on Secondary Education, which was presided over by M. Ribot. The *Thémis* Lodge, of Caen, urged upon the Convention of 1900 that members of the teaching profession who were Masons should be enabled to give evidence in the Lodges. The suggestion was adopted, with the addition that the Lodges should be requested to send in the result of their "discreet and secret inquiry" to the Parliamentary Commission.

Masonic effort among the teachers is thoroughly organised. A "fraternal group" of Masons belonging to the teaching body was formed in 1895, which is divided into several departmental committees, and which, at the Convention of 1900, pressed a resolution providing that lists of works by Freemasons should be sent to all the Lodges, and especially to all members of the profession, and that all books for schools, prizes, and libraries should be "written in the spirit which animates us, and should be scattered in profusion in order to combat the too numerous works of a clerical tendency, with which we are inundated." The object of such measures was frankly explained by Brother Vars, a professor at the Lycée Constantine, at the Convention of 1898:—

"It is not sufficient that the State should be the only teacher: it should also give its teaching a Free-thinking and Republican trend. . . . The day when the State, which is to-day obliged to temporise in order to gain scholars, shall be able in complete independence to draw up new Free-thought programmes, on that day the monopoly of the State will be laid."

In the face of such aims and measures as are here set forth, few people will be inclined to question the justice of the view taken by M. Prache, who says:—

"We regard as particularly grave the creation of such a secret group, working at the very heart of the University for

the defence of the interests of a sort of Church, which marches on to the conquest of the Ministry of Public Instruction, hiding its real flag, which is naturally exclusive of sincere neutrality in teaching. It appears to us contrary to the principle of the equality of citizens, and to the regulations and the advancement of functionaries, that because a man is a Freemason he should have special advocates and influence with the Ministry. The existence of such a group in a national department is incompatible with the maxims of equality, equal admissibility to public position, sincere laicity, tolerance and neutrality, which are at the base of this administration."

### IX.

We have here considered but a part of the multiform mass of evidence placed before the Parliamentary Commission as a justification for the thesis that Freemasonry is brought within the grip of the law of France, modified though it has been by the Law of Association. Under that Law, as we have already pointed out, associations which invade the rights guaranteed by law, or provoke to acts in contravention of the law, have an object and a *raison d'être* which are illicit, and are thereby null and void. By aiming at the acquirement of the domination of men's minds, and the direction of consciences in family and social life, by seeking to form the generations that are to come, and to occupy the ranks of the public services for the advancement of their own secret and illegal aims, the Masonic associations directly contravene the requirements of public order, as laid down in Article 6 of the Declaration of 1791, against which, as M. Waldeck-Rousseau rightly insisted, there can be no liberty. The great establishment of the Grand-Orient in the Rue Cadet and the Lodges set at defiance the laws imposing an income-tax of 5 per cent. on revenue, and the tax of *abonnement*, whilst the omission of the Grand-Orient to deposit copies of its publications at the Bibliothèque Nationale and at the Ministry of the Interior and the Prefectures, has for years past rendered it liable to the fines set forth in the Press Law of 1881.

In the face of these clear contraventions of the law, the Parliamentary Commission could scarcely do otherwise

than take the only path of duty open before them. Their decision was given in the *Feuilleton* of the Chamber of Deputies for March 6th, and runs as follows:—

“In consequence [of these proved facts and violations of the law] the Commission determines that the petition shall be sent :

(1) To the Minister of the Interior, begging him to insist on the deposit of the publications issued by the Grand-Orient, in order that our national collections may be completed.

(2) To the Minister of Finance, begging him to recover by his agents from the Masonic Federations and Lodges the arrears of the income-tax of 5 per cent. and of the tax of *abonnement*, with the amount of the fines incurred, which are and ought to be demanded of all religious or civil associations that make no distribution of their revenues amongst their members, and have the power to add to their numbers.

(3) Lastly, and especially to the Guardian of the Seals, begging him : (a) to order the chiefs of his departments to call for the nullity of Freemason associations from the civil courts, by the application of Articles 3 and 7 of the Law of July 1st, 1901 ; (b) to require them, till this nullity shall have been pronounced, to compel the aforesaid associations to respect the provisions in Articles 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Law of July 29th, 1881, relative to the deposit at administrative and judicial centres of publications and periodicals, in enforcing against those responsible the application of the penalties set forth.”

Such was the verdict of the Parliamentary Commission upon the character and acts, and its recommendations as to the treatment, of Freemasonry in France. It is not likely, however, that those recommendations will be taken up and enforced by the Government. M. Prache, the Reporter of the Commission, evidently had little hope of such a result, for, in recommending the course which his colleagues ultimately decided to follow, he pointed out that he quite understood what it would cost M. Gabriel Monod, the Minister of Justice, and his chiefs of departments, who are Freemasons, to comply with the demand made upon them, though they had shown no reluctance in bringing religious in court, whose sole occupation was to care for the poor and needy, on a trumped-up charge of infringing the Law of July 1st, 1901. Doubtless their Masonic brethren were dear to the Minister and his

subordinates, but still more dear should be the Law which had been voted in accordance with their express desires, and before which all citizens should be equal. Even we, in this country, are only too familiar with the way in which the Reports of Parliamentary Commissions are shelved, to cherish any illusions as to the fate which awaits these recommendations of the Eleventh Commission for Petitions of the Chamber of Deputies at the hands of the Masonic Ministry and majority of M. Combes. We know, too, how their predecessors in office have declared that they were never so active as Masons as when they held their portfolios, and there seems to be no reason for thinking that they will be less zealous for the policy of the Lodges, which is also their own.

Nothing effectual, then, for the checking of the onward progress made by Freemasonry under the protection of successive Governments is to be expected from the labours of this Parliamentary Commission. But its work has not been in vain. The time will come when the country will at last recognise that the Lodges are the source not only of the anti-religious measures which are now distracting it, but also of the Socialistic movement which, as M. Bodley has pointed out, is gathering such dangerous strength. Meanwhile, the verdict of the Commission will stand as a finger pointing to the real source of the difficulties which beset a noble nation, and which will continue to distract it as long as a secret sect is allowed to prepare its laws and remain above them, and to proscribe and persecute fellow citizens to the cry of liberty.

J. B. MILBURN.

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## ART. II.—THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN- ITY ON DRAMATIC IDEALS OF CHARACTER.

TENNYSON, in "A Dream of Fair Women," describes one of them thus :

I was cut off from hope in that sad place  
Which men called Aulis in those iron years :  
My father held his hand upon his face ;  
I, blinded with my tears,  
Still strove to speak : my voice was thick with sighs  
As in a dream. Dimly I could descry  
The stern black-bearded kings, with wolfish eyes,  
Waiting to see me die.  
The high masts flickered as they lay afloat ;  
The crowds, the temples, waver'd, and the shore ;  
The bright death quivered at the victim's throat,  
Touched ; and I knew no more.

That was Iphigenia.

"How many *Iphigenias* have been written" said Goëthe, "yet they are all different, for each writer manages the subject after his own fashion."

I propose to examine how a Greek mind, a French mind, and a German mind, managed the subject of Iphigenia ; and, finding a notable difference between them, to suggest the reason. I do not propose to compare the relative values of the writers as dramatists, their art, or their plots. The Greek drama was too fundamentally different from the European classical, even with its three unities, for that to be possible. I want to compare the ethical, not the æsthetic value of the plays, through the actions and ideas of one or two of their principal characters.

Euripides wrote two tragedies on the legend of Iphigenia. Racine used the one as a prototype, Goëthe the other.

The part of the mythico-historical legend of Iphigenia—of which naturally there are many variants—treated by Euripides, and, after him, by Racine, in *Iphigenia at Aulis* is the following :

Agamemnon, King of Mycene and of Argos, the most powerful prince in Greece, having offended Artemis by killing a hind sacred to her, vowed to sacrifice to the angry goddess the most beautiful thing that came into his possession in the next twelve months. During that time his wife, Klytemnestra, gave birth to Iphigenia.

Now the oath was held in peculiar sanctity among the Greeks. It was so solemn that the only special offence expressly marked out for punishment in the Underworld in Homer is the crime of perjury. Greeks throughout the whole of the *Iliad* never break an oath, though Trojans do. It bound not only man to man, but deity to deity.

Criminally, therefore, delaying the performance of this vow, Agamemnon, when commander-in-chief of the Grecian expedition against Troy, had his 1,000 ships wind-bound at Aulis by Artemis, till pestilence and inaction turned his soldiers against him. Thereupon, he accepts the duty of sacrificing Iphigenia, now grown to womanhood. She accepts her lot also, as a duty to her country.

It will at once occur that the most natural comparison would be with Jephthe's vow ; who, when " the spirit of the Lord came upon him," vowed " whosoever shall first come forth out of the doors of my house, and shall meet me when I return in peace from the children of Ammon, the same will I offer a holocaust to the Lord " (Judges xi.). Or, again, the command of God which Abram was ready to obey, of sacrificing his own son Isaac (Gen. xvii.). From one point of view this would be singularly appropriate, for, of the two principal elements which, under the influence of Christianity, have entered into the spiritual life of the modern world, one has been Hebrew and the other Greek. There can be little doubt that the spirit of

sacrifice so prominent in the Greek religious rites came from these examples in Hebrew observances.

The latter would perhaps be better paralleled by the vow of Idomeneus, King of Crete, who, in a storm at sea, vowed he would sacrifice to the gods whatever met him first on safely reaching land. His son being the first to meet him, was immolated. But both comparisons would be less than fair to the Greek, as they are both part of an inspired narrative. For the Greeks, it is true, their drama was a thing "sacred," part of their religious observance. "A Greek tragedy," writes Prof. Jebb, "could bring before a vast Greek audience, in a grandly simple form, harmonised by choral music and dance, the great figures of their religious and civil history. The picture had at once ideal beauty of the highest kind, and, for Greeks, a deep reality; they seemed to be looking at the actual beginning of those rites and usages which were most dear and sacred in their daily life." But I am not very sure that this aspect of the drama appealed strongly to Euripides, for he was what we should now call something of a Rationalist. And again, as to Jephte's vow, it is disputed whether the "holocaust" was one of life or of virginity—the latter being an immense sacrifice for a Hebrew woman, as every one of them desired, through motherhood, to be related to the coming Messiah.

The god and goddess on whose will the drama turns are Phoebos Apollo and Artemis — better known, perhaps, under her Roman name of Diana; one of whose sub-titles was Trivia, or Diana of the Crossways, of Meredith's novel, because her statues were generally erected there.

The theories of myths are many and little reconcilable. Among them one that commends itself is, that as the impulse of the human heart to recognise a supernatural power cannot be eradicated, myths are attempts at conceptions of previous divine ideas or things, so far lost as to be only faded or distorted memories, or even inklings of their former selves, varied by migration, exaggerated by traditions, elaborated by poets, or purposely disguised by cunning, formed, disformed, and reformed. The Germans



are master students in mythology ; and such authorities as Görres, Von Hammer, Münster, Uwaroff and Ritter find in Greek mythology a strong argument for the pre-existence of pure monotheism. It would indeed not be difficult to maintain that it was permeated with Hebraic traditions and ideas relating to the redemption of mankind.

Now Phœbos Apollo is one of the most remarkable gods of the Olympos of Homer, inferior only to Zeus, the image of the Supreme Being, and whose son he was. Even the gods rise from their seats at his approach. A god of peaceful functions, always superior to the god of war, he alone exhibits an entire unbroken harmony with the will of Zeus, which in all things he obeys, and whose word he thus became in the government of human affairs. And where he is the organ for accomplishing his father's designs—the Mediator—he never fails. He is the defender of Heaven and the deliverer of the immortals ; for an older tradition points to his having put down a rising of rebellious spirits in the Upper World. He is Phœbos, the light of the world, the supreme healer, hence a redeemer ; the prophet, with knowledge of forthcoming events ; and the angel of death, or deliverer from earth sorrow. Unlike the other gods, he is independent of the limitations of place, and, also unlike them, general prayers are offered directly to him. Never excited by mere personal passion ; never eating or drinking, never sleeping ; or weary, or wounded, or suffering pain ; never delighting in sacrifice apart from obedience. He moves without wings, chariots, or other instruments. He is one of the four gods to whom the power of signs—the significance of coming events—is confined. He has an almost unlimited power over external nature and acts on the mind of men—as only deities of the first order do—by infusing fear, courage, counsel, without any outward act or vehicle. Alone of the gods—except Hephaistos, who was deformed—his life was pure, he had no offspring. He was “the Pure” ; until in later traditions religion lost much of its earlier beauty. He was administrator of death to man—due, not to previous illness, but to his supreme will—death as a penalty, which is justice ; or death as a tranquil and



painless deliverance from the burden of the flesh. He thus took the sting from death.

But the divine qualities reflected in the Messiah were conceived of as feminine as well as masculine, and so these special attributes of Apollo, the God of Light, were reflected on his twin sister, Artemis, who, Müller says, was worshipped "as it were a part of the same deity." It is the very beautiful, and in some respects wonderful, relationship of brother and sister, Light, and its reflection, the Moon. She is the reflection of him more particularly in these distinctive features: in her personal beauty—a beauty not only of face, as Aphrodite's, but of form also, of figure, stature, as Apollo's; in her chastity, for she was called *ἀγνή*, the severely pure; in that her agency was ubiquitous, omnipresent. She, too, was a Healer, and to her also were general prayers directly offered. And, once more, she was an administrator of death to women, whether penal or of deliverance. In a word, the more distinguishing features of both have a remarkable correspondence with the Hebraic traditions, though we cannot point out the channel of communication other than the Phenicians. And this is a cult whose force and magic charm held as a religion, during twelve to fourteen hundred years, the most thoughtful, the most fruitful, the most energetic people of the human race.

The Greeks, whom Schlegel finely called "a second chosen people of God," made moral beauty a special object of their tragedy, and undoubtedly the dramatist who most profoundly felt the beauty of religious and moral ideas was Aeschylus. I have chosen Euripides in preference to him, or to that ideal Greek, Sophokles—the Goëthe of that age—for two reasons. Because he was the first Greek to make an artistic study of woman as woman—he excelled in the sorrow and tenderness of woman—and it is such a woman with whom we have to deal; and because he was pre-eminent in working out a character and situation—that life in action we want to watch—rather than in developing an artistic plot. Legendary characters he painted as human beings—as they really are. In so far, therefore, Euripides—the picturesque dramatist, Aristotle's "most

tragic" of poets, Milton's "sad Electra's poet," whose plays were the only ones, according to Aelian, Socrates went to see—is the prototype more fitted for comparison with the tender Racine and the woman-loving Goëthe. And Aristotle in the *Poetics* lays down that a dramatist having before him the bald outlines of the action of the legend as reported by tradition, should then imagine what would happen under the circumstances. This is exactly what Euripides did, and it is just the point of study we have in view.

The *Iphigenia at Aulis*, belonging to the middle or Byzantine stage of Greek literature, is the seventeenth of the nineteen plays—if we accept *Rhesos*—of Euripides that have come down to us out of the seventy-five—some say ninety—he wrote. The destiny of Agamemnon and his race was a favourite theme with the ancients. It has been dramatised in a variety of forms by the three great masters of antiquity. History is ever their theme. Four of the plays of Euripides (*Ion*, *The Suppliants*, *Heracleides*, and the *Mad Heracles*) may be said to have done for Athenian glory what Shakespeare's histories did for the glory of England.

The *Iphigenia at Aulis* was one of the three plays brought out by the youngest son of Euripides (after his father's death) at the great religious festival Dionysia, held in March, the national festival of Athens, founded by Peisistratos. As is the custom with Euripides, his play opens with an explanation, by royal Agamemnon of all the facts necessary to the hearer's clear understanding of the coming situations. But, as if to throw into fiercer relief the war of human passions about to be unfolded, the peace, the stillness of nature is absolute—

"Not a sound  
Of birds is heard, nor of the sea ; the winds  
Are hushed in silence in the Euripus."

Agamemnon is weary of the world, of the responsibilities of greatness. Calchas, the prophet, who held the prophetic gift direct from Apollo, has warned him that it is only his neglect of duty in not sacrificing his daughter, according to

his vow, that prevents the winds for which his army is mutinous. The splendid situation of the conflict between his love as a father and his duty as a king is thus finely presented. At first the father wins; he will disband the army, and refuse to sacrifice her. Then his brother, Menelaos, Helen's deserted husband, persuades him to bear the dreadful burden. So he wrote his wife to bring Iphigenia from Argos to the camp, because—it was a lie—he wished to affiance her there to Achilles, who knew nothing of it. But this sent, the father again gains the upper hand, and he sends another letter telling them not to come. You must not be surprised at the expression “letter”; Euripides was always careless as to such anachronisms. The anguish of the war-worn man is pitiable. How beautifully Euripides, by a word, contrasts the peace and brightness of nature with the harrowing gloom of this man's soul, as the king hurries his second messenger away—

“Now haste thee : go—that silver light  
Shows the approach of morn.”

With exquisite art the tragedy of the whole play is thus constantly emphasised by touches direct from nature. The messenger is met by Menelaos, who, suspecting treachery—he was a Greek dealing with a Greek—seizes and opens the letter sent to prevent Iphigenia coming, and thus to prevent the winds which only can help him to the recovery and avenging of his wife. In high wrath Menelaos charges Agamemnon with the discovered baseness. In a very vigorous and rigorous analysis of Agamemnon's character, Menelaos proves himself of capable acidity in the finest points of irony. He lays bare the personal ambition rather than the love of country in Agamemnon's desire of the command, and the servility of the flattery by which he gained it. Fiery and impulsive, this Hotspur does not measure his words. His imperial brother's reply is not without dignity and magnanimity, yet with active severity, for the father is still stronger in him than the king. The worthlessness of the origin of the war—revenge for Paris stealing Menelaos' wife—the evil policy of its pursuit; for that false idea he will not slay his children :

"My nights, my days, would pass away in tears  
Should I, with outrage and injustice, wrong  
Those who from me derived their birth."

It is cleverly carried off, but Menelaos has hit him true. Greed of power, anything to keep the command, and insatiable ambition ; these were the impulses that moved him to his vow ; neither a sense of duty to heaven nor to his country was a factor in it. His whole conduct reveals this.

Meanwhile, Klytemnestra and Iphigenia have arrived in camp, but not alone. Euripides, bent on bringing out all the depth of the sacrifice the king had to make, all the terrible hardness of the duty before him, by a supreme stroke of genius makes Iphigenia bring her little brother Orestes with her. What sight could more keenly agonise the heart of a father in such a moment? How could we have more vividly brought home to us the infinite pathos of the king's position? Even Meneláos is touched by the tragedy in the man's soul, for he is here, as in the *Iliad*, a milder man than Agamemnon. Brave and courageous, but more especially under the control of his intellect than his passions. Generously, therefore, he now urges Agamemnon to give up the war, and not to sacrifice his daughter.

And this brings out clearly the first motive that sways the king. It is not a sense of duty to the heaven who has bidden it, nor even to his fatherland whose welfare requires it, but to the clamour of a mutinous cry. To the reasonings of Menelaos he rejoins :

"But dire necessity compels me now  
My daughter's bloody slaughter to complete."

He does not so much dread Artemis the goddess's knowledge of his vow, but the fact that Ulysses, a captain of troops, knows it.

"Soon he will lead the Grecians, and excite them ;  
Me, in their fury, having slain, and thee."

He thinks of flight, but fears he would still be overtaken. So it must be done. That I am not forcing the meaning

here is proved by Klytemnestra's later emphasizing it, when Achilles, seeking for some reason to prevent the virgin's sacrifice, suggests :

" The father's purpose let persuasion change."

She instantly replies :

" He, void of spirit, too much fears the host."

Forgetful of duty, the action of Agamemnon is therefore ignoble, inasmuch as it does not spring from religious obligation, the sacredness of his oath, or supernatural motive, obedience to Heaven.

The mother and daughter are come ; and Euripides, in the very first words Iphigenia utters, gives us the full measure of her filial character ; her tender obedience to her mother ; her ardent love for her father. So earnest is Euripides that we should be impressed by the sweetness and fulness of the young girl's love for her father, that his first words to her recall the length and strength of her attachment to him. The profoundness of the tragedy to come can therefore escape no hearer. The whole scene is one of tenderest beauty and natural simplicity. Not Thecla, when first entering Wallenstein's palace and seeing the royal state by which her father was surrounded ; nor Miranda, gazing for the first time upon " the brave new world," are more delicate creatures of poetic fancy than Iphigenia. She quickly penetrates the sorrow at the heart of the king, and presses him for the reason. The spirit of the girl is aroused. She will brave the perils of the war by her father's side ; but he hints there is another voyage for her to take.

Recalling the beacon fires arranged for the coronation, remember that it was for his Queen, Klytemnestra, that Agamemnon, 3,000 years ago, arranged a series of such fires, which, by being lighted one after the other, should convey to her in the swiftest manner the news of the fall of Troy.

Achilles, his men full of impatience to be at the war, comes hotly to know the cause of the delay. But meeting

Klytemnestra, his anger changed to perfect chivalry. From her he learns with astonishment that her daughter is to wed him. Klytemnestra is equally astonished at his astonishment. A situation that might be ludicrous is cleverly contrived. Both are angered at the deception played upon them, when an old servitor with clumsy directness, natural in an over-anxious old man, blurts out the intended sacrifice of her daughter. So lightly was life held among the Greeks; so attuned was the Greek mind to atonement by sacrifice that, though horror-struck, her first impulse is resignation, attempting no evasion. But no sooner does she hear the words of Achilles in pity of her than she sees a chance of escape. Throwing herself at his feet she begs his protection for her child. To that he pledges himself. The Achilles of the *Iliad* is a proud, implacable foe, capable of generous impulses, brave to a fault, of violent passions. We see him here a peerless soldier, a Greek Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche*; but shy before women, punctilious in behaviour to them; quick to pity, yet shrewd withal; allied indeed to the Knight in the *Canterbury Tales*.

Meanwhile Iphigenia has heard her doom, and is all tears and sighs. With her mother and little Orestes she meets the king near their home. The king, either to spare them or because he is "void of spirit"—he seems always terribly afraid of his wife—still attempted to keep up the deception as to the nuptials, but Klytemnestra unmasks him with dignity. She reminds him how ruthlessly he won her; yet how faithful, how helpful, a wife she had been. She pictures the happiness of their home, her loneliness when he is away; the double loneliness were he away and their daughter for ever gone. And when he returns from the war, how could their other children welcome him whose hand had slain his favourite? To these wifely pleadings she added the mother's. Why should her child suffer, she an irreproachable wife, for Helen's benefit, a false wife; and Helen's own child, Hermione, go free of ill? The appeal is full of womanly warmth, strengthened and ennobled by a matronly dignity, and in admirable contrast to the next appeal—one of the most

moving in the whole range of great tragic literature—Iphigenia's.

But the fear of the Grecian chiefs is too strong for him. He tells her that if he do not sacrifice her he himself will be slain ; and then for the first time adds, it is for Greece. Unlike her father's, hers was but a momentary weakness, the maiden in the woman. Iphigenia is the heroic daughter of a line of heroes ; and she takes her resolution—

“ It is decreed  
For me to die ; this then I wish, to die  
With glory, all reluctance banished far.  
“ What I speak  
Is honour's dictate.  
And blest, for that I have delivered Greece,  
Shall be my fame.  
Let me save my country if I may,  
And deem me blest as working good to Greece.”

Her peerless sense of honour, her spirit of patriotism, have sublimated her.

Would a Christian, writing exactly the same facts, have more noble reasons to give for them ? A great Christian and a great poet placed the betrayer of one's country, as being against those who represent God, in the very lowest pit of Hell. Can, therefore, Christianity find a nobler virtue than to lay down one's life for one's country ?

Speaking very broadly, the position in dramatic literature of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, among the Greeks, is reflected by Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire among the French. But it is only a faint reflection. For Racine has all the polish and elegance of Sophocles without his power ; all the tenderness and pathos of Euripides without his terror. Greek was probably unknown to the tragic writers of France before Racine. When a youth, it is said he knew Sophocles and Euripides by heart. He had this very close affinity with Euripides that he portrayed heroic personages in more human, more natural proportions ; analysing with delicacy the most subtle shades of sentiment and of passion. What Sophocles is reported to have said of himself and Euripides, La Bruyère said of Corneille and Racine :



"the one," Sophokles and Corneille, "depicts men as they should be ; the other," Euripides and Racine, "such as they actually exist." Voltaire wrote a commentary on Corneille, and when asked why he did not write one on Racine, replied : "It is already done ; one has but to write at the foot of each page, beautiful, pathetic, harmonious, sublime."

The *Iphigénie* was first played some 1,300 years after its prototype (1674). (In our day it was Sarah Bernhardt's first impersonation.) Though the classical drama of France was supposed to be modelled on the Greek, the three unities (Action, Time, Place) were really the only points of connection. *Iphigénie* is less simple in structure than *Iphigenia*. It has more movement and complexity ; the motives complicated by the introduction of rivalry and its consequent jealousy. The refreshing touches of nature-life, with its colours and contrasts to the main theme, are gone ; and the intensity and force of the Greek gives place to a courteousness and correctness of deportment and diction unknown to Grecians, except, singularly enough, this Achilles of Euripides. As a tragedy, although one of the masterpieces of the old French stage, it is generally allowed that the *Iphigénie* is inferior to the *Iphigenia*. But, as I have said, that is not the comparison we seek.

Its opening is similar, but inferior in dramatic power to its forerunner. We have, however, not read very far before we come upon a note that foretells the higher ethical elevation of the play. As in Euripides, the Lord of men is describing to an old servant the worry of his soul, consequent on his vow, speaking of his daughter even more tenderly than the Greek. "My daughter—this name alone, with its sacred appeal, her youth, my very blood, these I do not regret ! I begrudge a thousand virtues ; our mutual love, her devotion to me, my tenderness for her . . . No, I will not believe, O Heaven, that thy justice approves the horror of this fell sacrifice. Thine oracles would doubtless test me ; and thou wouldst punish me were I to follow them." Here at once is a king of men in whom the sense of the justice of Heaven is his support in anguish—a sublime thought the Grecian Agamemnon

never knew. The agony of such a man moves our pity more profoundly than one suffering from terror of his troops. This recognition of the supervising, regulating, sustaining power of Heaven is constantly before Agamemnon ; not as a destiny with whom it were hopeless to cope, but as a power to be first supplicated, then obeyed. It would be less natural for such a man to lie as did Agamemnon when wanting to bring his wife and daughter to the camp. In Racine, therefore, Achilles—the hot, impetuous Achilles of the *Iliad*—is already engaged to Iphigénie ; and the king sends for his daughter, saying Achilles wishes to see her again before departing for the war. In the second letter to detain her, he said Achilles has changed his mind. It is a ruse, a white lie if you will, but not a serious deception such as the Grecian perpetrates.

Achilles is a fighting warrior ; yet in him, too, the recognition of an overlordship of Heaven is clear :

“ Honour calls, that suffices ;  
The gods are sovereign masters of our lives,  
But our glory is in our own hands.”

A more religious minded man than the Greek Achilles, for his dream is to emulate the gods by making himself as immortal as they, and, letting fate do her worst, follow where valour points a destiny as great as theirs. This was a religious, not an impious hope, for the Olympian religion makes divinity obtainable by man.

The Agamemnon of Racine suffers torments of anxiety, no less than he of Euripides. But Ulysses, more prominent here than in the Greek play, keeps before him his promise of giving his daughter to Greece—he has a touch of the cynicism of Shakespeare's Ulysses, in *Troilus and Cressida*, a cynicism tinged with worldly wisdom—hinting at the mutiny of the troops, it is true, but dwelling far more on the captains' love and personal sacrifices for Agamemnon, and what he owes to them in consequence ; and the fact that all Greece looks to him to carry the war through. A nobler appeal this, than to his fears of a riotous soldiery. And he meets it with an equal nobility.

The father still racks the king's heart nevertheless.

"I have given my word,  
And if my daughter come I consent to the holocaust."

If she come? The father clutches at the fond hope of delay; but the king will keep his word. She arrives, and in her coming he recognises the justice of heaven scattering the obstacles his foolish prudence had interposed.\*

Racine has missed the stroke of genius whereby Euripides brought the little Orestes into camp. Iphigénie comes without him; nor is the scene of father and daughter as sublime in the French as in the Greek play. Still, it is finely delicate and tender. "I have loved you ever," says Agamemnon; she catches at a word so sweet and abandons herself to the joy of it. The surprise of happiness which the chorus gives to Iphigenia's first sight of the camp is more personally prominent in Racine. And for it all, a thought comes to her that we do not find in Iphigenia—a thought that at once endows her with a finer motive, and throughout the play gives her a richer interest than the Grecian maiden.

"What other happiness can you wish? To what greater honour can even a king aspire? What is there but to offer heaven our thanksgiving?" This is the feeling of one who not only believes but trusts affectionately in heaven. The Greek Iphigenia was a stranger to this. Such expressions as "The gods, above all, will have thee in their care," "Just Heaven, thou knowest for whom I pray," are constantly in her mind.

A messenger announces that all is ready for the ceremony; but the joy of Achilles and the happy smile of Iphigénie—they both think the ceremony is their nuptials—make it impossible for him to conceal the nature of the ceremony. The intensity of the situation is increased

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\* I am aware another motive may have influenced Racine in making Agamemnon not only less servile, but a much nobler king than did Euripides. The play was written during the time of Racine's courtier-life. The royal power of Louis XIV. rested upon the middle classes, it having reduced the once powerful feudal noblesse to a critical rather than sympathetic aloofness—as was the case with Fénelon, Beauvilliers, Chevreuse, and the ever-piquant St. Simon. But Racine was of the middle class, like Bossuet, Colbert, and Louvois, and their devotion to the king was effusive—to say the least of it. Yet even if we take this view, its possibility does not invalidate, but rather strengthens my argument.

by the interruption of various over-eager questioners, guessing something is wrong. Learning it is to sacrifice Iphigénie, the latent tigress in Klytemnestra is aroused. She rushes to threaten the king. She is, however, very far in this play from the Lucrezia Borgia, or Lady Macbeth she was to become later.

For the first time Achilles and Iphigénie are alone, and the impulsive lover is in wild haste not only to protect but to avenge her. She detains him, but he bursts out into fierce invective against the king. Iphigénie begs him to remember it is her father. And then comes from her a splendid cry of filial love, forgiveness, and defence of his goodness. "In the name of the gods"—they are always her defenders—she begs him to desist. The obedience, the reverence, the enduring affection of the daughter for her father are in poignant contrast to the revolt, the reviling, the anger of the wife for him.

"I obey a legitimate duty," says Agamemnon, as Iphigénie takes her leave of him. Submissive to his wish, obedient to his will, she offers herself a double victim—to love, to life—giving him back the blood he gave her. She reminds him how young she is, that she was the first to call him father: she, so long the joy of his eyes, made him—the thought is not in the Greek—bless the gods for that name. She recalls their caresses, how she learned the names of the lands he conquered, and knowing he would win Troy, she had already begun to prepare for the festal triumph, little dreaming her blood would be the first he would shed. But her heart, jealous of his honour, will harbour no thought that could make so dear a father blush. But less for herself, it is for her promised husband she pleads and for an agonised mother.

Agamemnon tries to soothe her, but how? On the *renown* the sacrifice will bring her name? No. On the glory of Greece for which she lays down her life? No. But on a hope of which the Grecian princess knew nothing:

"Though cruel, it is the decree of the gods.  
Think of those among whom you are about to be raised;  
Ascend, in dying, to those whence you sprang."

A passionate outburst of reproof from Klytemnestra deepens the beautiful picture of resignation in the father and daughter.

The father and the king in him again dissuade him from and urge him to the sacrifice, and in his distraction he turns to the gods for guidance. Achilles tries to persuade Iphigénie to escape ; but she, her thoughts upon heaven, refuses, because "the laws of the gods" forbid it ; "their eternal ordinance but too clearly declares it." Still he urges her, when, with fine indignation, she exclaims : "Where, then, would be respect ; where this supreme duty ?"

There is the point of the play : duty was to her supreme, and the supreme duty obedience, not to her father, as in the Greek, but to the will of Heaven. Thus, in her own words, "she is conquered by laws she must respect." And then this prayer of anguishing human appeal breaks from her :

"Oh thou, who decreeth my death, behold me, desolate ; strike, end, just Heaven, my life, my dread ; and aim here the blows which may strike down me alone." And to her mother :

"If thou love me, by that mother's love, never reproach my father with my death ; he but gives me back to the gods whence he had me."

Elevation of mind ; heroism of soul ; superhuman insight into the will of Heaven ; are with this, but not with the Greek princess.

Père Brumoy, in preferring Euripides to Racine, praises him for giving Iphigenia a horror of death, and a desire to escape it, in that he thus followed nature more closely than Racine, the resignation of whose Iphigénie is too complete. The completeness of her resignation is to my mind the point that raises her above the ordinary heroic level, for his Christian ideal thus marks the sublimity of her obedience to the commands of father and to heaven. There can be no question as to which is the more touching nobility.

What has been called the "noble tragedy" of *Iphigenia among the Tauri*, although it refers to a time twenty years later than the other play, was written some years before it,

being the eleventh in their approximate chronological order. In considering it we must remember that a dark and deep social revolution, if not degradation, followed the Trojan war.

As in the case of Isaac, a hind having been substituted for her by Artemis at the altar at Aulis, Iphigenia was conveyed by the goddess to her temple in the Tauric Chersoneses, the peninsula in the Black Sea, known to us as Balaklava. As Priestess of the Administratrix of Death, it was her duty to consecrate—not actually to kill in sacrifice—all Greeks captured on the Scythian coast, they being then sacrificed to Artemis. This latter had been done from time immemorial; and in Euripides Iphigenia continues the practice, although regretfully.

Agamemnon, having returned victorious from the sack of Troy, is murdered by his faithless wife, Klytemnestra, who in turn is killed at the express command of Apollo, because he was the Pure, by her son Orestes. For this crime he, distraught, is ceaselessly pursued by the howling Erennyes until he brings to the temple of Apollo at Argos the sacred statue of his sister, Artemis, from Tauris. He, therefore, with his faithful friend Pylades, arrives at Tauris, ignorant who the priestess is. The love of Orestes and Pylades has become as proverbial as that of Damon and Pythias, or of David and Jonathan. The friends examine the temple with a view of finding the safest way of securing the statue; then determine to await nightfall in a cave. Iphigenia relates a dream she has had of her brother Orestes, which she interprets as meaning he is dead. You will remember that in Dante suicides were punished by being encased in trees, whence their voices issue in lamentation. It is a little curious that in the dream Iphigenia imagines a house falling to destruction, save a column the capital of which formed the head and hair of her dead brother, and from which came his voice. She laments her office and her loneliness, detained from home and country. "I dwell in a barren home, — unwedded, — childless, — homeless, — friendless." Can desolation be more utter?

So that her nature, from the tender, loving maiden we

have seen, is not altogether eradicated by the awful duties of her new office, though naturally she has hardened, and less loveable features have become prominent. She has a sense of duty in her ministrations, although it is tinged with a kind of fatalism—

“But we are subjected to a necessity, which we must regard.”

A herdsman arrives, telling of the capture of two strangers who were found in hiding. He says they are Greeks, and one calls the other Pylades. They have been taken before Thoas, the king, who has ordered them to be sacrificed. Iphigenia commands them to be brought to her, that, before sacrificing them, she might question them as to the war at Troy, of Agamemnon (her father), of her brother Orestes, of her sister Electra, and learn the manner of her mother's death. Seeing they know Argos well, the idea of writing home seizes her, and she offers one of them—it happens to be Orestes—his liberty if he will carry her missive to Argos. He refuses to leave his friend to be sacrificed, offering to send Pylades instead, and be sacrificed himself. Neither will Pylades leave him to die. But mark the reason. Not from affection for him, not from a sense of honour, not from any manliness, but because “I shall be charged with cowardice and meanness in Argos and Phocis, with its many valleys. I shall appear to the world—and the world is spiteful—by deserting thee, to have returned alone and in safety to our home, perhaps to have caused thy death whilst thy house was in disorder, devising thy fall to gain a throne, as having in your sister” (to whom he was engaged) “a royal heiress for my wife. These things I dread, and am ashamed of.”

It is difficult to understand how a man of so contemptible a character could have faced death at all. Orestes is nobler, for he will not cause the death of one “who is the associate of my toils.”

Pylades, taking the letter, asks to whom it has to be delivered. “To Orestes, from his sister, Iphigenia, still living.” Straightway Pylades gives the letter to Orestes,



and brother and sister recognise each other. She is now all eagerness to escape.

Various schemes are suggested by Orestes for securing the statue and the escape of the three. Iphigenia rejects them all, but she hits upon a device. "Women are cunning in devising snares," says Orestes approvingly. Her device is to lie—to deceive: and then, trampling on her duty, to commit sacrilege.

The pathetic, the heroic, the ideal Iphigenia is gone, and in her place a scheming, unscrupulous woman. She will declare to the king that it is not lawful to sacrifice the two Greeks until they have been purified, being murderers—which, as far as this play is concerned, Pylades was not. And further, that, having touched the statue—which they had not—it, too, must be purified. All, therefore, must be laved in the sea, and without spectators. There escape with the booty would be easy.

This she unblushingly affected to the king's face, adding other falsehoods to strengthen her case. A wily Greek, if ever there was one, but no heroine—no woman who endears us to her memory.

The ruse succeeds: the three escape; but their ship is driven back upon the shore by a storm. Pallas Athena, interposing, calms the waters, and their return home to Argos with the prize is assured.

By some Goëthe's *Iphigenia* is considered his masterpiece. Schlegel called it "An echo of Greek song."

"In beauty and intensity of pathos, none of Goëthe's works surpass this tragedy. But the calm which overspreads it is hyper-Greek, and Euripides himself appears rugged in contrast to his German rival. All the struggles through which the drama is carried are mental; and the dénouement is a noble outburst of generosity. Scythian as well as Greek are humanised: all the rougher distinctions of character are effaced, and the whole depends on a subtle play of feeling which it requires a psychological study to appreciate."

Like Euripides, Goëthe opens with a monologue; and we at once find ourselves in a finer air, in a more rarified atmosphere. Iphigenia refuses the king's hand that she

may fulfil her duties as a priestess : duties the nature of which her strength and nobleness of character have changed, inasmuch as since she had been priestess no human holocausts have taken place. This at once marks her as a higher ideal than the Grecian. It is no reply to say that Euripides was obliged to make her perform sacrificial consecrations. No traditions held him : he took a pleasure, so to speak, in breaking with them. The German Iphigenia will not do anything not sanctioned by Heaven. In a beautiful prayer she relies upon its guidance : for the gods see the past and the future, caring for the race of man, so

"that he may lift  
Awhile to their eternal heavens  
His sympathetic joyous gaze."

We have seen the extraordinarily insufficient motives which could prompt Pylades to face death with Orestes. In Goëthe the motive is not only higher, but one we realise as sufficient—trust in heaven :

"Apollo pledged to us his sacred word,  
That in his sister's holy fane for thee  
Were comfort, aid, and glad return prepared.  
The words of Heaven are not equivocal,  
As, in despair, the poor oppressed one thinks."

There is a fortitude in this different in essence, as in degree, from him who was afraid of what the world might say. But this is not an isolated expression. He is full of the idea of the providence of Heaven acting through man :

"But thou, Orestes, to the gods give thanks,  
That they through thee have early done so much."

Against the fell destiny which cankers the Greek Orestes the German one is pervaded with this more sublime philosophy :

"A noble man, who much hath sinned, some god  
Doth summon to a dangerous enterprise,  
Which to achieve appears impossible.  
The hero conquers, and, atoning, serves  
Mortals and gods, who henceforth honour him."

A tragic figure indeed is Orestes, driven by the Furies from

remorse to remorse ; sublimely pathetic, yet ennobled by his acknowledgment of the justice of his punishment.

By this ethos of lofty thought Goëthe prepares us for the stroke of genius which raises his Iphigenia immeasurably above her Greek prototype. The beauty of her character permeates such passages as this :

" As by his bounteous gifts  
We recognise the monarch ;  
So you, ye heavenly powers, are also known  
By bounty long withheld, and wisely planned.  
Ye only know what things are good for us,  
Ye view the future's wide extended realm,  
While from our eye a dim or starry veil  
The prospect shrouds. Calmly ye hear our prayers,  
When we, like children, sue for greater speed."

Or this (addressing Thoas, the king) :—

" Oh, couldst thou see the struggle of my soul  
Courageously towards the first attack  
Of an unhappy doom, which threatens me !  
Do I, then, stand before thee weaponless ?  
Prayer, lovely prayer, fair branch in woman's hand  
More potent far than instruments of war."

Such a woman would be incapable of a lie in words, of deceit in action, of sacrilege, as the Greek committed. So Goëthe, with admirable art, makes the ruse the suggestion of Pylades, who, after all, is Greek enough to feel that—

" to me it seems  
That him, nor stratagem, nor art, defiles  
Who consecrates himself to noble deeds."

At once she sees the falseness of such plea. Then, being human, momentarily carried away by the joy of a possible freedom, she hesitates a consent. Recovering her better self after a struggle, in which conscience, though hard pressed, finally conquers, she prays the gods to help her :

" Save me, and save your image in my soul"—

a profound line which none but a Christian could have conceived. Her sense of duty to truth triumphs over her intense anxiety for her brother's safety. Full of high conviction, she boldly reveals her plan of escape to the

king, thus saving her honour from treachery. "From the commencement of the fifth act she assumes a calm and lofty tone, as if feeling the inspiration of a nobler purpose. The dignity and determination with which she opposes the cruel project of the barbarian king, remind us of the similar qualities displayed by the Antigone of Sophokles, who is, perhaps, the noblest heroine of antiquity. Thus, when called upon by the king to reverence the law, Iphigenia appeals to that law written in the heart, more ancient and more sacred than the ordinances of man." This noble courage, this courage of woman's nobility, touches the king. He not only pardons the two friends, but aids all three to return to Argos with the statue. The command of Apollo is thus fulfilled without harm to the honour of Artemis or her temple.

The Iphigenia of Euripides is a great force, but the Iphigenia of Goëthe is a great character. Of course, you cannot put Christian prayers into pagan lips; but you can sublimate the pagan prayers by a Christian atmosphere. The performance of a vow was a matter sacred to a Greek as it is sacred to a Christian. And in this case the vow was made, so to speak, doubly sacred by the interposition of Heaven, through the agency of Apollo's representative, Calchas. Again, obedience to authority was strongly inculcated by the Olympian religion, still more obedience to heavenly authority. Yet when exactly the same facts present themselves, as here, to the pagan and to the Christian mind, the latter, by supplying a motive for action superior in itself and in its aim, ennobles the performance of both virtues by a more supreme loftiness.

Once more. Obeying the command of Heaven — whether of Artemis, by fulfilling a vow, or of Apollo, by removing a sacred statue from one place to another — is recognised by both religions eminently as a virtue. But the influence of the two systems of religious thought on character is revealed by the manner of overcoming the difficulties that interfere with its accomplishment. The means that present themselves to the pagan mind are as little honourable as those originated by the Christian are highly so. And if this influence makes itself so marked in

the motives and the characters of the harder natures of soldier-men, how much more should it beautify the whole nature of more impressionable woman? This is exactly what transpires in the *Iphigenias*. In Euripides, she, when at Aulis, is a girl full of life and the love of life; sensitive, yet strong nerved; sound in mind and limb; but whose highest thought—heroically high—is love of her country, and love of untarnished fame. A noble ideal, yet not the noblest. In Racine she is a passionately loving, warmly forgiving, highly-strung girl; generous, brave; but of deeper thought, profounder feeling: whose ideal is obedience to Heaven. The ideal of both women braces them to the highest act of heroism; but its motive adds an elevation, a dignity to the latter's self-sacrifice scarcely touched by the former. In Euripides she is the more tragic character, but in Racine the more moving.

In Tauris the Grecian has become a woman of intense passions, hardened by the desolation of her life; vindictive against those who have injured her; and, when escape seems possible, reckless of the consequences of her action, either to the state or to religion. With Goëthe her loneliness adds pathos to her resignation; her dread duties add depth to the steadfastness of her nature; and the courage with which she risks all—her brother's life and her own escape—rather than stoop to treachery, gives sublimity to the ideal we have formed of her. In Euripides suffering—in the service of Heaven, be it remembered—has embittered her emotions; in Goëthe it has enriched them. The one is full of resentment, the other has none of it. One is a beautiful nature, warped by suffering: the other a noble nature enhanced by it.

That this setting of *Iphigenia* on Goëthe's part was intentional, and not my reading into it what was not meant to be there, an incident related by Mr. Sime will prove.

Raphael never painted a St. Agatha, so I suppose Mr. Sime is really referring to that wonderful St. Cecilia, painted for the Chapel of St. Cecilia, in the Church of San Giovanni in Monte, near Bologna, whose praises have been sung in countless Latin and Italian poems; the St. Cecilia which in depth of expression—her eyes are

"listening rather than seeing"\*—and splendour of colour is a masterpiece; and which, says Passavant, "brings us nearer to heaven" than the best of Titian or Correggio.

Be that as it may, Mr. Sime relates the incident thus: At Bologna, standing before Raphael's St. Agatha, "his conception of the character of Iphigenia assumed a new and higher form." "I remarked the figure well," Goëthe afterwards wrote; "in mind I shall read my Iphigenia to her, and *my heroine shall say nothing that the saint might not utter.*"†

That is the secret of the whole matter, and the proof of what is foreshadowed in the title of this paper.

D. MONCRIEFF O'CONNOR.

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\* "To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit," says Shakespeare (*Sonnet 23*).

† If it be thought that Goëthe is scarcely a Christian witness, it should be borne in mind that even an "atheist" cannot get away from the Christianity which pervades the daily life around him: it permeates the moral, literary, social air he breathes: and consciously or unconsciously colours his ideals. As illustration, Patmore, in his autobiography, thus speaks of his father: "My father professed to disbelieve in any spiritual existence. . . . His ideas of purity . . . were singularly high, real, and unpuritanical, and intellectually quite unjustifiable except by the light of Catholic doctrines, of which probably he had never heard."—*Coventry Patmore*, by Basil Champneys, vol. ii., p. 41.

ART. III.—THE WORLD-EMPIRES OF  
ROME AND BRITAIN.

*Studies in History and Jurisprudence.* By JAMES BRYCE, D.C.L., author of *The Holy Roman Empire*, *The American Commonwealth*, etc. Formerly Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Oxford ; Honorary Fellow of Oriel and Trinity Colleges ; Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. In two vols. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 1901.

*British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas.* By the late Sir HENRY JENKYNs, K.C.B., with a Preface by Sir COURTENAY ILBERT, K.C.S.I. Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 1902.

IN the past few years the minds of Englishmen have been largely occupied with questions of imperial policy. We have travelled far since the days when Macaulay could say, with some truth, that a broken head in Coldbath Fields attracted more attention than a pitched battle in India. And if we may judge from the space these matters fill in the press, or in current political controversy, we might seem to be in some danger of going to the opposite extreme, and paying little heed to broken heads or breaking hearts at home in our new-born zeal for imperial glories and colonial expansion. In all this, there may be much to cause legitimate satisfaction, much that springs from an enlightened love of country and kindred, and an intelligent interest in the welfare of our fellow citizens over seas. Yet, on the other hand, there is good reason to fear that there is much that owes its origin to less worthy sources, much again that is only on



the surface, and too many of those who talk lightly and loudly of the empire and its interests have no just or adequate sense of the momentous nature of the questions at issue. We are not now concerned with the merits of the controversy on the war in South Africa. That subject has already been discussed at some length in these pages ; and the present writer has treated it elsewhere, from a different standpoint. But, whatever their views on this matter may be, thoughtful men on either side must surely regret the growing tendency to regard these vital questions from the low level of party platforms, and to lose sight of fundamental facts and primary principles in a maze of petty personalities and endless recriminations. There is more reason to regret this in these days of popular government, when the national policy is shaped not by kings and cabinets, but by the real or supposed will of the people. In England and America, at any rate, a vigorous campaign of oratory in the provinces, or a series of telling articles in the popular press, may easily be enough to hurry the nation into a disastrous war and make or mar the hopes of a peaceful settlement. At the same time, the most ardent admirer of our modern press, and our party system, must needs allow that, with all their merits, they leave little scope for any searching examination of facts, or any broad consideration of fundamental principles. From the nature of the case, both politicians and pressmen are hampered by the claims of some immediate and practical object. And the desire to win votes for the party or readers for the paper too often leads them to pander to popular taste or to flatter the prejudices of the ignorant, instead of seeking to elevate the one or to remove the other.

For this reason, we may well turn with a sense of relief to such a book as Mr. Bryce's *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, wherein these grave problems can be treated with less restraint and with greater freedom and play of mind. For we feel, as we read its pages, that we are, so to say, lifted to a higher level and breathe a purer and more invigorating atmosphere. It is true, indeed, that the author is himself a practical politician and a man of party, not

wholly free from the natural bias and the inevitable limitations of his order. Happily, however, he is able to put off the mere politician when he enters the serener region of broad philosophical speculation on the historical evolution of empires and of jurisprudence. At the same time, the fact that he is in touch with the realities of political life and practical experience, has a wholesome influence on his work and keeps it free from professorial pedantry and metaphysical abstractions. The book before us is not altogether new, for some of these "studies" originally appeared as separate papers or as articles in contemporary periodicals. And others are the same in substance, if not in form, with those lectures on the more popular aspects of his subject, with which Mr. Bryce diversified his duties as Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford University. But both have been enlarged and re-arranged or re-written. The appearance of the work at the present time is particularly welcome. For while it will naturally appeal with greater force to the mass of English readers, now that the ideas of Imperialism and Colonial Federation have taken hold of the public mind, it is admirably adapted to supply some of that light and leading, which may be sought in vain in the party press or in the speeches of popular politicians.

It could be wished that Mr. Bryce had adopted a more significant and attractive title for the present work than the somewhat neutral and colourless *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*. So far as it goes, this is a just description of the contents of the book; but, unfortunately, it gives the reader no notion of its bearing on the burning questions of the hour. Nor does it convey any indication of the underlying unity of purpose which binds the various essays together into one consistent whole. In truth, Mr. Bryce's work is no mere collection of separate papers on kindred themes. It may more fitly be regarded as one thorough-going and systematic study in comparative politics and jurisprudence—a comparison of the two world empires of Rome and Britain. Or as the author has it in his preface:

"These volumes contain a collection of Studies composed at

different times over a long series of years. They treat of diverse topics ; yet through many of them there runs a common thread—that of a comparison between the history and law of Rome and the history and law of England. I have handled this comparison from several points of view, even at the risk of some little repetition, applying it in one essay to the growth of the Roman and British Empires (Essay I.), in another to the extension over the world of their respective legal systems (Essay III.), in others to their legislation (Essays XIV. and XV.), in another to an important branch of their private civil law (Essay XVI.).”

This continuous vein of comparison, which runs through the work and gives it at once its unity and its chief interest, comes to the surface in the titles of the aforesaid five essays, to wit : “The Roman Empire and the British Empire in India,” “The Extension of Roman and English Law throughout the World,” “Methods of Law-making in Rome and in England,” “The History of Legal Development at Rome and in England,” and “Marriage and Divorce in Roman and in English Law.” And though it is less conspicuous elsewhere, its presence is sufficiently felt in most of the other essays, and all of them may be said to have some connection with the central subject of these suggestive studies. This is clearly the case with those which treat of such general questions as the origin of sovereignty and the nature of political constitutions. And, here, the author is naturally found illustrating his principles by instances taken from the laws or politics of Rome and Britain. Other essays, again, are devoted to such topics as the constitutions of the United States and the South African Republics, and that of the new Australian Commonwealth. And even the two papers on such apparently remote matters as “Primitive Iceland,” and “A Modern Mussulman School at Cairo,” serve to illustrate some aspects of the central subject.

The student of contemporary history who would find something more solid and helpful than the ephemeral utterances of journalists and politicians will naturally turn with a lively interest to Mr. Bryce's pages. For the proposed comparison can hardly fail to be instructive, in the hands of one who has an adequate acquaintance with the

laws and the political history of both empires. Without this condition, indeed, the attempt would be likely to afford little help, and could only serve to spoil a good subject. Happily, there is no fear of this, when the task is undertaken by one so well qualified as Mr. Bryce, whose earlier labours in the field of constitutional history might seem to mark him out for this study in comparative politics. For what are the two works by which he is chiefly known as a capable historian and a constitutional jurist, the only two which he cares to mention on the title page of the present volumes? The first, his masterly monograph on *The Holy Roman Empire*, treats of the mediæval revival of the Empire of Rome; while the second, *The American Commonwealth*, deals with an offshoot of British colonial expansion. The labour devoted to these two books alone would be enough to make the author equally familiar with the stories of both the empires, and with laws that govern their gradual growth from small beginnings to world-wide dominion. And his keen sight could hardly fail to note their leading characteristics, their points of contact or contrast, and to gather whatever lessons the old Empire of Rome has left as a legacy to her younger rival. At the same time, Mr. Bryce's legal studies and his position as a Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, enable him to speak with special authority on that subject in which the histories of Rome and England present the most remarkable analogy, the evolution and world-wide expansion of their systems of jurisprudence.

In addition to this, Mr. Bryce has other qualifications which should make his work more welcome to the general reader. For, as those who know his earlier writings do not need to be reminded, he has the rare gift of combining scientific accuracy and scholarship with the outward graces of style, and the living interest of historical narrative. In some respects, indeed, the present studies, dealing largely with matters of law and constitutional statics, leave less scope for these powers than such a theme as *The Holy Roman Empire*. None the less, the author succeeds in surmounting the difficulty, and in making many a pleasing

page out of somewhat unpromising materials. And these two bulky volumes of essays on imperial politics and jurisprudence combine solid food for thought with a considerable amount of very agreeable reading.

Needless to say, the comparison itself leads the author to give some account of the two world-wide realms ; and some of his readers will probably leave the book with a truer and more accurate knowledge of the British Empire than is generally possessed by the votaries of popular Imperialism. But the instruction thus conveyed in the course of the comparison is naturally neither exhaustive nor systematic. For a detailed discussion of the laws and methods of government, in all the various branches of the Empire, forms no part of Mr. Bryce's purpose. The reader in search of further information on these matters will do well to turn to the other work which we have set with that of Mr. Bryce at the head of this article. In some respects, the posthumous volume of Sir Henry Jenkyns on *British Rule and Jurisdiction beyond the Seas* presents a curious contrast to Mr. Bryce's more discursive "studies." It is a far cry from these essays in comparative history and jurisprudence, with their wide range and varied interest, to the strict order, the minute details, and the dry technical terms of the legal manual. Yet the two books have, withal, not a little in common. Each serves in some way to supplement the other ; and together they combine to illustrate the same vast field of imperial polity.

In spite of its comparatively small compass, the volume left by Sir Henry Jenkyns gives us a full and well-ordered account of the varied and complex system of laws, administration and legislation in the many and different British possessions over seas. It treats in turn of the various kinds of such possessions, and of their relations with the home government. In addition to this, there are some chapters on extra-territorial jurisdiction and on the position of foreign subjects in British Protectorates. The author himself was a distinguished member of that great body of permanent civil servants who play an important part in shaping imperial policy and legislation, though their silent unobtrusive labour attracts but little attention. As

Assistant Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury, from 1869 to 1886, and as Parliamentary Counsel from 1886 to 1899, Sir Henry Jenkyns had ample opportunity for observing the working of the government machinery. And his practical experience enabled him to speak on these matters with more authority than any mere man of letters or philosophical theorist. But the advantage was not without its drawbacks. For his conscientious devotion to his public duties had too long delayed his literary labour. And in the end his book had to be left for posthumous publication. Happily, however, it has found an appreciative and competent editor in Sir Courtenay Ilbert. As a general rule, the author's manuscript should be given to the public with as little change as possible. But in the case of a book which is a manual of information rather than a work of literary art, the editor may rightly be allowed a larger liberty. And Sir Courtenay Ilbert has done well in having the chapter on "Self-governing Colonies," re-cast or re-written, in view of the changes wrought by the recent inauguration of the Commonwealth of Australia.

The value of the volume is enhanced by the addition of various Acts of Parliament, Governors' commissions, and other authoritative documents. Among these it may be of interest to many of our readers to notice the weighty and well-considered Report on British Jurisdiction in Foreign States, by the late Mr. Hope Scott, Q.C. (Appendix VI). The recommendations made in this memorandum were speedily adopted in the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1843, as the author takes care to tell us in his chapter on "Consular Jurisdiction."\*

Unlike the larger work with which it is here associated, this volume of Sir Henry Jenkyns is studiously brief and systematic; and its language is terse and technical. There is no scope for rhetoric or literary grace of style, or speculation on the philosophy of history. But the dry record of facts has, withal, an eloquence of its own, which may well leave the reader with a vivid sense of the vastness and complexity of the world-wide empire of Britain.

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\* P. 151. By a strange slip, the name, which is correctly given elsewhere, is printed "Scott Hope" in the table of contents.



It may be partly the flattering illusion of a pardonable partiality that makes the new empire of Britain appear the one conspicuous rival of Imperial Rome. And to some, it may seem that some other powers, such as the Spain of Charles V. and the France of Napoleon, or the Russian realm in our own day, have at least some claim to be included in the comparison. None the less, it will be allowed on all hands as an indisputable fact that the British Empire is one of the most conspicuous of Rome's more recent rivals. And even when we divest ourselves of prejudice and partiality on either side, and keep to the cold and colourless test of facts and figures, we must add that in world-wide extent and in the numbers subject to its sceptre it far surpasses most other empires, some of which, moreover, though they may dazzle us by a blaze of military glory, had only a relative greatness and an ephemeral existence. In any event, the comparison of Rome with Britain is that which most concerns ourselves ; and, apart from its peculiar interest and the pleasure that arises from the perception of unity in dissimilitude, it may furnish us with not a few practical and forcible lessons, whether it be in the way of encouragement or of timely warning.

Mr. Bryce begins by briefly noting some of the salient points of agreement and of difference in the origin and growth of the two empires. And what he says, on both sides, is expanded and made more complete in some of the later pages. It may be well to bring together a few of these points in our own way, and in our own words. Both Rome and Britain started from small beginnings, the one a city state, the other a petty provincial kingdom. Each, in turn, had first to absorb the domestic rivals in its immediate neighbourhood before it could enter on the wider field of foreign conquest or colonial expansion. In both cases, some of the most momentous steps in this new direction were, apparently, accidental and unconscious. As an instance of this, Mr. Bryce draws attention to a curious analogy between the part played by the collision between the Romans and Carthaginians in Sicily, and by the struggle of English and French in India. In some sense,



it may be truly said that Lally and Dupleix laid the first foundations of our Eastern empire; even as the menacing shadow of the Punic power first forced the Romans to pass beyond the borders of Italy.

In like manner, both Rome and Britain ended by founding a vast and long-enduring dominion, and by spreading their language, their laws, and their national institutions over a yet wider region, and yet larger masses of mankind. We might add another analogy which does not enter into the author's comparison. In spite of its persistent but ineffectual persecution of the Church, the Roman Empire, with its organized unity, its peace, and its ready means of communication, did much to facilitate the spread of Christianity among the nations of Europe. And, in much the same way, the wider sway of England, in despite of penal laws in the past and a lingering legacy of national prejudice, has done not a little, especially in these more tolerant days, to further the progress of Catholicism. As some of our readers may remember, the theory that the British power, like the Roman, was providentially designed for this purpose, was put forward in these pages some years ago by the late Mr. Mivart. This consideration should cause some painful misgiving and searching of heart to the politicians of our time who aspire to combine the parts of Protestant champions and militant Imperialists.

The points of difference are, perhaps, somewhat less numerous, and less noticeable. But some of them are, certainly, significant. In regard to time, it can only be said that the British rate of progress, at least in some directions, has been more rapid than that of Rome. For though the new empire has not lasted quite so long as that of old Rome, without the dubious aid of prophecy, it is not yet possible to speak on any difference of duration. Be this as it may, it is in their spatial relations, and in their methods of expansion, that the two empires present the most striking contrast. The British territory is larger than that of Rome and its subjects are far more numerous; but both lands and peoples are scattered over all the quarters of the globe. But if the Roman eagles never flew so far afield as the flag of England, the realm which they

guarded was more solid and shapely. The wise policy by which Augustus set bounds to the Roman Empire could hardly be applied with the same success to the formless fragments of British territory. But until yesterday it offered a profitable example to the great Western Republic.

It is true that here, as Mr. Bryce justly says, our modern means of communication have done not a little to lessen or mitigate this difference. "It takes only twenty-two days to reach any part of British India (except Kashmir and Upper Assam) from London. But it took a nimble, or as Herodotus says, a 'well-girt traveller,' perhaps forty days from Rome to reach Derr, on the Nile, the last fortress in Nubia where Roman masonry can be seen, or Gori, at the foot of the Caucasus, also a Roman stronghold, or old Kilpatrick (near Dumbarton), where the rampart of Antoninus touches the Clyde; not to add that the sea part of these journeys might be much longer if the winds were adverse. News could be carried not much faster than an official could travel, whereas Britain is, by the electric telegraph, in hourly communication with every part of India; and the difference in speed between the movement of an army and that of a traveller was, of course, greater in ancient times than it is now" (vol. i., p. 7).

A more important difference between the two empires may be discovered in their methods of expansion. Even here, as we have already seen, there are some striking points of resemblance. But, speaking broadly, Rome may be said to have grown mainly by conquest, and England by colonization. In the one instance, the Imperial city sent out soldiers to subdue the nations around, and officials to rule them; and the subject races gradually adopted the civilization of their conquerors and became merged in the general mass of the empire, when they were at length admitted to the full rights of Roman citizenship. In the other, the Imperial race itself has spread out over a great part of the world, bearing with it the cherished institutions of the Motherland, and building up new Englands across the Atlantic and the southern seas. Here, the two great Empire-nations stand in marked contrast, so long at least

as we confine our attention to that most characteristic and important part of the king's dominions over seas, the self-governing colonies of British blood and speech. And that self-government, again, is yet another difference that separates them from the subject provinces of Rome, which were under the despotic rule of the central authority.

It may be well to observe that these three distinguishing features of the younger empire, the distance which separates its various parts, the growth by migration or colonization, and local autonomy, are closely connected together; and each one of them seems to be, in a measure, conditioned by the others. Mr. Bryce does not generally concern himself with speculative questions. But we are naturally led to look for the source of these differences, and ask what is the relation they bear to each other. Some may, perhaps, find a simple and sufficient solution in the character of the British race, its democratic spirit, and its love of justice and liberty. It is true this would only push the inquiry further back; for this national character itself is not something inborn or aboriginal. But if we may take it for granted, it certainly seems to lend itself more readily to a course of peaceful migration than to a career of conquest. And, seeing that the neighbouring lands were already occupied, the colonizing race must needs be scattered over widely distant regions. The assumed national character would obviously account for the self-government of the various colonies.

But before we lay this flattering unction to our souls, it may be well to remember that the philosophy of history, perhaps we should rather say the philosophy of geography, affords another explanation of the matter which is not quite so gratifying to the patriot, though it will probably give more satisfaction to the scientific inquirer. Something is doubtless due to the native powers and character of the race; but, in some respects, the natural position or configuration of the land itself is a yet more important factor in the problem. There is a fine passage in Herder which shows how the shores of the Mediterranean were the cradle of European civilization. If, says the philosopher, in a bold flight of fancy, that sea were removed

and the three continents formed one continuous mass, Europe would have been doomed to the stagnation of China. We may say, in like manner, that the course taken by the tide of British empire was mainly determined by the insular position of the motherland. It is a familiar fact that this isolation has its influence on the character of the people, and tends to give them a strong spirit of independence; even as the inaccessible nature of the mountain home produces a like effect on highlanders all the world over. And the island race can echo the words of Tell :

“ Das Haus der Freiheit hat uns Gott gegründet.”

We are all accustomed to look on the silver streak of sea as our surest bulwark against the danger of foreign invasion. But the presence of that sundering sea has also another effect which is too often overlooked or forgotten. It is a barrier against invasion on the part of the islanders. If either shore had been inhabited by some frail and fenceless race, the difficulty might have been surmounted. But with great and powerful nations on both sides of the channel, all that was possible was some ephemeral victory. Neither could hope to subdue the other and hold it in subjection. If only for this reason, Britain could not follow in the footsteps of Rome and expand by conquering and absorbing the neighbouring nations. This road was effectively barred against her. If her islanders would fain build an empire, they must needs betake themselves to the colonization of distant regions and the conquest of feebler races.

This certainly seems a sufficient reason for the scattered and remote position of the British possessions. And this distance, in its turn, may be regarded as one of the main causes of colonial liberty and self-government. The philosophy of this subject was set forth in masterly fashion in one of Burke's memorable American speeches. When the short-sighted statesmen of his day would have given a short shrift to the rebellious colonists, the great orator appealed not merely to justice, or wise policy, or the free spirit of the race, but to the inexorable laws of nature. It

was impossible, he urged, for any State to put forth its full force at the other ends of the earth. Despotism might prevail at home, but the distant provinces must needs have a larger liberty. The appeal, as we know, was all in vain. And the philosopher's thesis had to find its demonstration on the field of battle. Happily the lesson was learnt in time to save us Canada and Australia. Let us hope that it may not be forgotten in our dealings with other colonies.

The differences noted by Mr. Bryce, and most of what has been here said in the above digression, must only be taken as applying to one portion of the British Empire, to wit, the self-governing communities in Canada, Africa, and Australia. Leaving the mother country itself, which does not concern us here, and the small and sporadic Crown colonies which will hardly afford much help in the comparison, all that remains is the vast and populous Empire of India. Here, as our author points out, the chief differences discernible elsewhere are conspicuous only by their absence. For England's rule in India, both in its origin and in its methods of administration, presents a curiously close parallel to the ancient dominion of Rome in those very points wherein Rome differs most widely from our colonial empire. It is clearly a case of growth by conquest, like the Roman subjection of Corinth or Carthage. The English in India are there as soldiers, or as officials governing a subject people, not as colonists reproducing the institutions of their own land in another clime. And the form of government adopted seems to run counter to what has just been said on the impossibility of exercising despotism at a distance. But this exception does not really weaken the force of Burke's argument. For the peculiar circumstances which, as Mr. Bryce shows us, facilitated the original conquest of India by a mere handful of Englishmen, are enough to explain the possibility of this long-armed absolutism. But for the rivalry of races and religions, and the conflicting interests of the numerous petty states and princes, both the one and the other had surely proved impracticable.

These pages which treat of British India are among the most interesting and suggestive in the work before us.

This is all the more welcome, because there is some reason to fear that this important topic attracts far too little attention in this country. For even in these days of enthusiastic Imperialism, the thoughts of the public are commonly turned in a different direction. As the author has been in India, he is able to give some local colour to his picture. Nor does he disdain to enliven his sober pages with a traveller's tale which would seem to show that the very tigers of India have a saving touch of British loyalty and Imperialism.

"I heard at Lahore an anecdote which, slight as it is, illustrates the way in which the native thinks of these things. A tiger had escaped from the Zoological Gardens, and its keeper, hoping to lure it back, followed it. When all other inducements had failed, he lifted up his voice and solemnly adjured it in the name of the British Government, to which it belonged, to come back to its cage. The tiger obeyed" (vol. i., p. 62).

A different interest attaches to the pages in which the author speaks of the strange power and permanence of the ancient religions of India, and their far-reaching influence over the lives of the people. As he justly says, they offer a resistance to English ideas which is unlike anything that confronted the founders of Roman empire. But the possibility of their eventual dissolution, in spite of their present apparent vitality and vigour, is finely illustrated in the following remarkable passage :

"In the Arctic seas, a ship sometimes lies for weeks together firmly bound in a vast ice-field. The sailor, who day after day surveys from the mast-head the dazzling expanse, sees on every side nothing but a solid surface, motionless, and apparently immovable. Yet all the while the ice-field is slowly drifting to the south, carrying with it the embedded ship. At last, when a warmer region has been reached, and the south wind has begun to blow, that which overnight was a rigid and glittering plain is, in the light of dawn, a tossing mass of ice-blocks, each swiftly melting into the sea, through which the ship finds her homeward path. So may it be with these ancient religions. When their dissolution comes, it may come with unexpected suddenness, for the causes which will produce it will have

been acting simultaneously and silently over a wide area. If the English are then still the lords of India, there will be nothing to prevent their law from becoming (with some local variations) the law of all India" (vol. i., pp. 140-41).

But even in the event of this ultimate disappearance of the great Indian religions—an event which may yet be in the far future—Mr. Bryce does not appear to anticipate any fusion of the English and Indian races. For they would still be kept asunder by the barrier of colour, which, strange to say, seems to be a stronger source of separation than any difference of race or religion. This inveterate aversion would seem to be peculiar to the Teutonic nations; for with Spaniards and Portuguese, as the author reminds us, difference of colour is not an obstacle to intermarriage. Whatever its origin, this strong national sentiment may have an important bearing on the political future of India. For it forbids the banns of an amalgamation such as that which happened of old in Rome, and is likely to be accomplished on a larger scale in the Russian empire. As Mr. Bryce observes :

"Yet even these differences might not render an ultimate fusion impossible. It is religion and colour that seem to place that result beyond any horizon to which our eyes can reach. The semi-barbarous races of Southern Siberia will become Russians. The Georgians and Armenians of Transcaucasia, unless their attachment to their national churches saves them, may become Russians. Even the Turkmans of the Khanates will be Russians one day, as the Tatars of Kazan and the Crimea are already on the way to become. But the English seem destined to remain quite distinct from the natives of India, neither mingling their blood nor imparting their character and habits" (vol. i., pp. 75-6).

Here, again, we are tempted to ask a further question. Is such a fusion of the races desirable? We have no sort of sympathy with the pride that looks down with disdain upon men of alien race or of different colour. And in the case of some of the great nations of India this arrogant



attitude has a peculiar absurdity. But without any disparagement of other races, we may be permitted to desire the preservation of our own. And when we remember that we are far outnumbered by our Indian fellow-subjects, we cannot contemplate such an amalgamation without some misgiving. This objection will apply impartially to other populous nations, without regard to their colour. Indeed, this blending of blood, this admixture of a large alloy in the dominant race, is one of the chief dangers incidental to the onward march of empire. As Rome expanded and absorbed the subject peoples into herself, she became continually less and less Roman; and the consequent weakening of the old national character was one of the causes that contributed to her downfall. It may be hoped that the Englishman's sense of race and his love of the mother country may prove strong enough to stand the strain. But if Imperialism is allowed to supplant patriotism, we can scarcely escape the same danger.

In his interesting account of the codification of the law in India, Mr. Bryce pays a tribute to the good work done by Macaulay in this important matter. Much still remains to be done in this field, but so far the progress made is satisfactory and the outlook encouraging. Very different is the picture here given of the results of introducing European higher education into India. As we know from Sir George Trevelyan's admirable biography, this was a course strongly advocated by Macaulay, in preference to the alternative project of fostering Sanskrit studies. We cannot tell what would have been the result of adopting the latter policy. But if we are to judge by what Mr. Bryce tells us, it could not well be anything worse than the outcome of the attempted English education.

"Indeed, the chief effect of this instruction has so far been to make those who receive it cease to be Hindus or Musulmans, without making them either Christians or Europeans. It acts as a powerful solvent, destroying the old systems of conventional morality and putting little in their place. The results may not be seen for a generation or two. When they come they may prove far from happy" (vol. i., pp. 73-4).

We cannot stay to examine Mr. Bryce's valuable paper on the two types of constitution which, for want of a better name, he calls the "flexible" and the "rigid"; or that on the action of centripetal and centrifugal forces. But we have heard so much of late about the division of the whole earth among a few gigantic empires, that we may note with satisfaction that our author asks whether the future will be with the world-empires or the smaller nations. It is at least some relief to find that this is regarded as still an open question. But while he allows that some facts seem to point in the opposite direction, Mr. Bryce considers that, on the whole, the signs preponderate in favour of the big battalions. This is likely enough, if the forecast is confined to the more immediate future. But in these matters it is surely idle to speak of permanence and finality. Such phrases as "Never again" may do very well in party rhetoric, but they have no place in the philosophy of history. The march of modern science and the accumulations of political experience bring many momentous changes in their train; but it may be safely said that they are not likely to modify the nature of men or give stability to their institutions. Sooner or later the most secure and solid of modern empires may find with Flecknoe that—

"All human things are subject to decay."

Every page of Mr. Bryce's work is well worthy of attention; but the seductive interest of his central theme has left us no space to spare for some important topics and not a few suggestive utterances on which we would willingly linger. But before we take leave of Mr. Bryce and his book, we must add a word on the grave moral questions suggested by his concluding essay on "Marriage and Divorce under Roman and English Law." In studying some of the other points of the comparison between the two empires the English reader may learn some useful lessons; and any sign of our resemblance to Rome in her days of decadence will naturally serve as a timely warning. But, on this matter of marriage and divorce, the closeness of the parallel is positively ominous and startling. This is further enforced by a consideration of the law and

practice of divorce in the United States of America, where the change already introduced into England has been carried a stage or two further.

Mr. Bryce is by no means a pessimist or an alarmist. And here, as elsewhere, his sober judgment helps to correct the hasty impressions of superficial observers. Some of the changes in modern marriage law meet with his frank approval. And he is careful to point out that the frequency of divorce does not always and necessarily imply a greater prevalence of sexual immorality. But this very moderation gives fresh point to his painful picture of the facts, and adds weight to his earnest and eloquent plea for the stability of the marriage union. As we read it we can only regret that one who feels this need so deeply does not take his stand on firmer ground and defend the indissolubility of marriage. We may observe, in passing, that some passages on the subject of Catholic marriage dispensations and impediments are scarcely in keeping with the fairness and the sobriety of statement which are generally conspicuous in Mr. Bryce's pages. It is difficult to characterise the assertion that "the rules regarding impediments were so numerous and so intricate that it was easy, given a sufficient motive, whether political or pecuniary, to discover some ground for declaring almost any marriage invalid" (vol. ii., p. 434).

These moral questions, we may add in conclusion, have an important bearing on the problems of imperial policy. After all, government is but a means; the end is the true welfare of the people. And the State which neglects this will sooner or later bring about its own ruin. For a higher law than the will of Augustus has set barriers beyond which no empire, howsoever great and mighty, may pass with impunity.

We hear of many schemes for strengthening the vast empire of Britain and guarding it against the dangers wherewith it is threatened. We are told that we must have Colonial Federation, or compulsory service; we must reorganise the War Office and increase the navy; we must reform our education and save our commercial supremacy; above all, we must secure efficiency in administration.

Some of these things may have their use, but in themselves they will never suffice for our safety. It must be sought elsewhere, in national righteousness, in "better manners, purer laws," in good government at home, in a policy of peace abroad, in healing the wounds of war, in checking the ravages of famine, in redressing wrongs and removing abuses, in guarding the law of Christian marriage and the sanctity of the home, in training the young in the religion of their fathers.

"These are imperial works and worthy kings."

These things, and such as these, alone can make our country great, and keep her from danger; their presence alone will give us cause to take a legitimate pride in her past achievements, and enable us to face the future without fear.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

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## ART. IV.—UNDESIGNED COINCIDENCES IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

### THE VERACITY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT NARRATIVE.

“Ever occupied with the study of Sacred Scripture, he was wont to say that it could not be better explained than by itself.”—Breviary Office for the Feast of St. Bernard.

IN the year 1847 there appeared a book entitled *Undesigned Coincidences in the Writings both of the Old and New Testaments*, by the Rev. J. J. Blunt, D.D., late Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. This remarkable book, which rapidly went through many editions (by the year 1863 it had reached its eighth), was, like Paley's *Horae Paulinae*, an attempt to show the veracity of the sacred narratives from the numerous “undesigned coincidences” which a careful study revealed. The influence Dr. Blunt's work has exercised, and will continue to exercise, it would be hard to estimate; its teaching, however, has come to stop: so much so that the expression “undesigned coincidence” has become a household word amongst biblical commentators.

There are certain stock difficulties in the Bible which the ridicule of Bayle, Voltaire, Renan and their school has made familiar. We do not refer to moral or dogmatic difficulties, but to those passages which at first blush seem to contradict one another, and which thus afford ground for supposing that we have here two or more authors at work and in conflict with one another, and thus not, in consequence, inspired by the Spirit of Truth. We may here include also those passages which appear to conflict

with the testimony of profane history. Examples in point are the conflicting passages touching David's first introduction to Saul;\* St. Paul's varying accounts of his conversion;† the seemingly irreconcilable versions given by St. Matthew and St. Luke respectively of the story of the centurion, to whom we owe the words "Domine, non sum dignus";‡ or, again, St. Luke's explicit "neither staff," as contrasted with St. Mark's equally explicit "but a staff only."§ So, too, the historical passage—

"Against him came up Salmanasar king of the Assyrians, and Osee became his servant, and paid him tribute.

And when the king of the Assyrians found that Osee endeavouring to rebel had sent messengers to Sua the king of Egypt, that he might not pay tribute to the king of the Assyrians, as he had done every year, he besieged him, bound him, and cast him into prison.

And he went through all the land : and going up to Samaria, he besieged it three years.

And in the ninth year of Osee, the king of the Assyrians took Samaria and carried Israel away to Assyria : and he placed them in Hala and Habor by the river of Gozan, in the city of the Medes"—

is declared to be incorrect; for we now know that the usurper Sargon, and not Salmanasar, actually took the city; while all students of the Pentateuchal difficulties are familiar with the seeming contradictions¶ between certain of the Mosaic laws—a contradiction which has compelled many Catholic exegetes to see in the Pentateuch "layers of laws dating from different periods and abrogating one another."

The true office of error is, of course, to substantiate the truth; and the careful explanation of the foregoing apparent discrepancies no doubt serves to show the real veracity of the sacred writers. But there is a proof of veracity which is far more delicate, and which, when properly applied, is

\* Cp. 1 Kings xvi. 18-23 and xvii. 55-58.

† Cp. Acts ix. 1-20, xxii. 4-16, xxvi. 12-19.

‡ Cp. St. Matthew viii. 5-13 and St. Luke vii. 1-10.

§ Cp. St. Luke ix. 3 and St. Mark vi. 8.

¶ 4 Kings xvii. 3-6.

¶ Cp. Levit. xvii. 3-4 and Deut. xii. 15-16.

far more convincing. It consists in the unveiling of those hidden coincidences which the superficial reader will not notice, but which careful search will reveal. In spite of all that has been written on the subject, we perhaps hardly realise the extent of the demand we make when we say that a Bible inspired by God must be self-consistent throughout. The records of a people, the fluctuations of whose fortunes were so remarkable, must needs present a very uneven surface, especially when we reflect that the compilation of these records covers a period of at least a thousand years, while the events themselves extend over a far longer period. But when we take into account the number of hands at work on these records; the varying styles employed by their authors, now historical, now poetical, now fictional; the licence allowed by Oriental modes of thought which are not shackled by punctilious ideas of accuracy; and the inevitable corruptions which by all rights the text of such chronicles should have undergone in its transmission; when we take all this into consideration we begin to grasp the nature and extent of the demand that these accounts shall be absolutely one, shall be self-consistent in the smallest matters of detail, shall tally with what history teaches or is presumed to teach us, and shall be able to withstand the microscopic dissection of hostile critics.

No such demand is ever made upon profane records—any want of consistency between two or more independent records is readily explained away or quietly swallowed; but when God comes before us as the Author of a Book He challenges inquiry at our hands, and consents to stand or fall in our eyes by the proof He gives in the work of His amanuenses that the work is really His. And yet the very best proof that the Bible is truly God's Word, and therefore absolutely true, lies in its unpretentiousness. When we write up our diary at night we do so without an eye to the possible "higher critic" of the succeeding century who will pronounce upon its authenticity, and who will reject it as spurious if we are not careful to make our statements absolutely tally with one another. But if we have written it up daily with a simple regard for the mere



facts, a careful critic could soon find proofs innumerable of its authenticity. For one of the notes of truthfulness in a record is a certain carelessness in expression, a disregard for explanations which a fraudulent compiler would deem advisable for the express purpose of escaping detection—a unity, too, which pervades the whole, at least in its main lines, and which careful study often reveals in the under-current of thought.

A study of Professor Blunt's book will show the marvellous extent to which these indices of veracity are scattered over the Bible, and an independent thoughtful reading of the Bible for ourselves will produce many similar instances, some of which we proceed to give here.

We mentioned above, as one of the notes of truthfulness, a certain carelessness which arises from absolute confidence both in the exactness of the story and in the generous acceptance of the reader. Thus, what on the face of it could be more contradictory than the following account of the selling of Joseph by his brethren?

"And Joseph went forward after his brethren, and found them in Dothain.

And when they saw him afar off, before he came nigh them, they thought to kill him.

And said one to another : Behold the dreamer cometh.

Come, let us kill him, and cast him into some old pit : and we will say : Some evil beast hath devoured him : and then it shall appear what his dreams avail him :

And sitting down to eat bread, they saw some *Ismaelites* on their way coming from Galaad, with their camels, carrying spices, and balm, and myrrh to Egypt.

And Juda said to his brethren : what will it profit us to kill our brother, and conceal his blood ?

It is better that he be sold to the *Ismaelites*, and that our hands be not defiled : for he is our brother and our flesh. His brethren agreed to his words.

And when the *Madianite* merchants passed by, they drew him out of the pit, and sold him to the *Ismaelites*, for twenty pieces of silver : and they led him into Egypt.

And Ruben, returning to the pit, found not the boy."\*

Without any explanation the writer calls them now *Ismaelites*, now *Madianites*. He leaves us to puzzle out

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\* Gen. xxxvii. 17-29.

the explanation because he is so confident of the truth of his story, and tells it so naturally that he stops not to obviate keen-eyed criticism. And yet he had carefully told us before who Ismael was and who Madian :

"Now Sarai the wife of Abram, had brought forth no children ; but having a handmaid, an Egyptian, named Agar.

She took Agar the Egyptian her handmaid, ten years after they first dwelt in the land of Chanaan, and gave her to her husband to wife.

And Agar brought forth a son to Abram : who called his name *Ismael*."\*

Thus, Ishmael was the son of Abram by an Egyptian, while we are told later—

"And Abraham married another wife named Cetura :

Who bore him Zamran, and Jecsan, and Madan, and *Madian*, and Jesboc, and Sue."†

This seems to increase the difficulty, unless we agree to say that all Abram's children by others than Sarai were called by the generic name of Ismaelites. And this really seems to have been the case, as we learn from an entirely different book of the Bible which, at a later period, relates for us events dating some five hundred years later. Thus, after the account of Gedeon's victory over the Madianites, we read :

"Gedeon rose up and slew Zebec and Salmana : and he took the ornaments and bosses, with which the necks of the camels of kings are wont to be adorned.

And all the men of Israel said to Gedeon : Rule thou over us, and thy son, and thy son's son : because thou hast delivered us from the hand of *Madian*.

And he said to them : I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you, but the Lord shall rule over you.

And he said to them : I desire one request of you : Give me the earlets of your spoils. For the *Ismaelites* were accustomed to wear golden earlets.

They answered : We will give them most willingly. And spreading a mantle on the ground, they cast upon it the earlets of the spoils.

And the weight of the earlets that he requested, was a thousand seven hundred sicles of gold, besides the ornaments,

\* Gen. xvi. 1-15.

† Gen. xxv. 1-2.

and jewels, and purple raiment which the kings of *Madian* were wont to use, and besides the golden chains that were about the camels' necks."\*

Again, not a word of explanation, not a hint as to the reason of this identification, but a calm conviction of the truth of the story and an assumption that the solution of what on the face of it is a flagrant contradiction is patent to everyone. Would it be possible to find this in a fictitious narrative compiled by a grasping priesthood and foisted on the popular acceptance during or after the Captivity? Yet such is the Gräafian view!

Let us take now an instance of geographical exactness. We all know how widely divergent may be two travellers' descriptions of the same route. The accounts of the marches in the late war form a good example. Now, the Bible gives an account of Jacob's return from Mesopotamia, and casually mentions certain halting-places on his route thus :—

"And rising early he took his two wives, and his two hand-maids, with his eleven sons, and passed over the ford of Jaboc. And when all things were brought over that belonged to him, He remained alone : and behold a man wrestled with him till morning.

And when he saw that he could not overcome him, he touched the sinew of his thigh, and forthwith it shrank.

And he said to him : Let me go, for it is break of day. He answered : I will not let thee go except thou bless me.

And he said : What is thy name? He answered : Jacob.

But he said : Thy name shall not be called Jacob, but Israel : for if thou hast been strong against God, how much more shalt thou prevail against men?

Jacob asked him, Tell me by what name art thou called? He answered : Why dost thou ask my name? And he blessed him in the same place.

And Jacob called the name of the place *Phanuel*, saying : I have seen God face to face, and my soul has been saved."†

The actual order of the two places, the ford of Jaboc and the spot called Phanuel, matter little, but the narrative continues—

"And Jacob came to *Socoth* : where having built a house, and

\* Judges viii. 21-26.

† Gen. xxxii. 22-30.

pitched tents, he called the name of the place Socoth, that is Tents.

And he *passed over* to Salem, a city of the Sichemites, which is in the land of Chanaan, after he returned from Mesopotamia of Syria : and he dwelt by the town.”\*

The narrative, then, implies that a person coming by the ordinary route from Mesopotamia to Salem would pass over the river Jaboc, would then come to Phanuel, and then to Socoth, would next cross the Jordan, and so to his destination. And note that the writer is not at pains to state this : he mentions it by accident ; it is rather a deduction from, than the purport of his story ; he was occupied with the events which there occurred rather than with the localities themselves. Now, if we can show that the writer was, so to speak, unintentionally exact in his geography—that the framework, in other words, bears the impress of truth—we can argue that his story also bears the impress of truth in its more important and, indeed, supernatural features ; at least we must confess that the writer localises his scene accurately, though without directly intending to do so, and is thus no skilful forger of later date “projecting his legend into the past in order to give it an air of reality,” as many modern critics would have us believe. But the writer's accuracy is shown by another scene of far less peaceful character which took place on the same spot, and is described at great length. When Gedeon expelled the Madianites, to whom we referred above, he drove them over the same ford which Jacob used when crossing the Jordan into Palestine from the opposite direction ; and an examination of the geographical indices, which again are only hinted at and are only mentioned casually, reveals an exact correspondence between the relative positions of the ford, Socoth, and Phanuel as given by the writer in Genesis and by the writer in Judges. Thus we read :—

“And when Gedeon was come to the Jordan, *he passed over* it with the three hundred men, that were with him : who were so weary that they could not pursue after them that fled.

And he said to the men of *Socoth* : Give, I beseech you,

\* Gen. xxxiii. 17-18.

bread to the people that is with me, for they are faint : that we may pursue Zebbee, and Salmana the kings of Madian.

The princes of Soccoth answered : Peradventure the palms of the hands of Zebbee and Salmana are in thy hand, and therefore thou demandest that we should give bread to thy army.

And he said to them : When the Lord therefore shall have delivered Zebbee and Salmana into my hands, I will thrash your flesh with the thorns and briers of the desert.

And going up from thence, he came to *Phanuel* : and he spoke the like things to the men of that place. And they also answered him, as the men of Soccoth had answered.”\*

The order, of course, is reversed. Gedeon crosses the Jordan from the western side : he comes first to Soccoth—Jacob’s last halt before crossing from the eastern side had been Soccoth—he then reaches Phanuel, which also had been Jacob’s halting-place previous to reaching Soccoth. Could such a careful arrangement have been intentional? Would any forger have taken the trouble to think it out? And, further, would he not have taken pains to make his identification clear instead of putting it in the inverse order, and leaving the discovery of its harmony with a previous account by another hand to mere chance?

And if the accidental features are thus marvellously and unintentionally true, must we not conclude the same of the essential features?

Is it too much to claim that such “unintentional fidelity to detail” affords a sound proof of the writer’s veracity in their main facts? If an officer during the late war in South Africa had been anxious to test the accuracy of his scouts and also to find out how the land in any given direction did lie, what more searching test could he have applied than to take two native scouts belonging to two tribes which had recently been at war with one another, and ask them independently to give him an account of their raids into one another’s territory. If they describe raids each from their respective sides of the boundary and thus take the raided villages and localities in inverse order to one another, according as one native comes from the east and the other from the west, a minute agreement in the relative positions of these villages will show (1) that

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\* Judges viii. 4-8.

they have both been there and know what they are talking about ; and (2) this fidelity to detail, which is unconscious, for neither knows that the other has been interrogated and has given the villages in the inverse order to that which he is now giving, will show that he is also faithful in his story of the raid itself and its main features.

Is not this an exact parallel to the story of Jacob's and Gedeon's passage of the Jordon, each from their respective sides? Collusion is out of the question. Therefore each is truthful in detail, and that unconsciously ; and therefore each is truthful in his main narrative—Jacob *did* wrestle with the angel, Gedeon *did* harry the inhabitants of Soccoth and Phanuel.

Similarly, minute historical exactness is often shown in the most unexpected ways, and, as we cannot too often insist, entirely accidentally. The author no more knew that by his chance references to personages he was silently but convincingly establishing his own veracity, than he doubted of the truth of the story he was telling.

Thus, after the account of Absalom's cold-blooded murder of Amnon, we read :

"But Absalom fled, and went to *Tholomai* the son of Ammuid the king of *Gessur*. And David mourned for his son every day."\*

Why he should have gone thither we are left to find out for ourselves. He might have gone to Egypt as Jeroboam did ;† and it is not till we turn up the passage which gives a list of David's family at the time he was king in Hebron that we find the explanation. And David's second son was—

" . . . Cheleab of Abigail the wife of Nabal of Carmel : and the third Absalom the son of Maacha the daughter of Tholmai king of *Gessur*."‡

We feel that a forger would have infallibly explained the passage descriptive of his flight by the earlier one which tells of his parentage.

\* 2 Kings xiii. 37.

† 3 Kings xi. 40.

‡ 2 Kings iii. 3.

And the tragic story of Absalom will furnish us with another instance of what we may reverently call the biblical carelessness about identifications which our more exacting minds consider necessary to the orderly march of a historical narrative. We are told in one of the passages quoted above that Absalom was David's third son, and we are also told how he succeeded in making away with Amnon, the first-born and the heir to the throne. Not a word, however, is said about the second son, Cheleab, who would still stand in the way of Absalom's ambition. We may, however, not unreasonably suppose that he was dead, and that the fact that, in consequence, no one stood between Absalom and the throne save Amnon may, more than the wish to avenge his sister's dishonour, have stirred up Absalom to his base deed. But the Bible, be it noticed, does not think it in any way needful to tell us this fact. The story, however, proceeds in a way which at first mystifies us, for after Amnon's death and Absalom's restoration to favour, the latter was clearly the heir to the throne, and had no need to have recourse to intrigue in order to secure his position. Yet we read :—

“ Now after these things Absalom made himself chariots, and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him.

And Absalom rising up early stood by the entrance of the gate, and when any man had business to come to the king's judgment, Absalom called him to him, and said : Of what city art thou ? He answered, and said : Thy servant is of such a tribe of Israel.

And Absalom answered him : Thy words seem to me good and just. But there is no man appointed by the king to hear thee. And Absalom said :

O that they would make me judge over the land, that all that have business might come to me, that I might do them justice.

Moreover when any man come to him to salute him, he put forth his hand, and took him, and kissed him.

And this he did to all Israel that came for judgment, to be heard by the king, and he enticed the hearts of the men of Israel.”\*

Absalom, then, evidently feels his position insecure, and his efforts to render it certain by prematurely seizing the

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\* 2 Kings xv. 1-6.



throne end in his miserable death. Yet we get no hint as to the secret cause at work which made the would-be parricide so anxious, until we come to the story of another would be usurper :—

“ And Adonias the son of Haggith exalted himself, saying : I will be king. And he made himself chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him.

Neither did his father rebuke him at any time, saying : Why hast thou done this ? And he also was very beautiful, the next in birth after Absalom.

And he conferred with Joab the son of Sarvia, and with Abiathar the priest, who furthered Adonias's side.

But Sadoc the priest, and Banaias the son of Joiada, and Nathan the prophet, and Semei, and Rei, and the strength of David's army was not with Adonias.

And Adonias having slain rams and calves, and all fat cattle by the stone of Zohemoth, which was near the fountain Rogel, invited all his brethren the king's sons, and all the men of Juda, the king's servants :

But Nathan the prophet, and Banaias, and all the valiant men, and Solomon his brother, he invited not.

And Nathan said to Bethsabee the mother of Solomon : Hast thou not heard that Adonias the son of Haggith reigneth, and our lord David knoweth it not ?

Now then come, take my counsel and save thy life, and the life of thy son Solomon.

Go, and get thee in to king David, and say to him : Didst not thou, my lord O king, swear to me thy handmaid, saying : Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit in my throne ? why then doth Adonias reign ?

And while thou art yet speaking there with the king, I will come in after thee, and will fill up thy words.

So Bethsabee went in to the king into the chamber : now the king was very old, and Abisag the Sunamitess ministered to him.

Bethsabee bowed herself, and worshipped the king. And the king said to her : What is thy will ?

She answered and said : My lord, *thou didst swear to thy handmaid by the Lord thy God, saying : Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit on my throne.*

And behold now Adonias reigneth, and thou, my lord the king, knowest nothing of it.

As she was yet speaking with the king, Nathan the prophet came.

And they told the king, saying : Nathan the prophet is here.

And when he was come in before the king, and had worshipped, bowing down to the ground,

Nathan said : My lord O king, hast thou said : Let Adonias eign after me, and let him sit upon my throne ?

Is this word come out from my lord the king, and hast thou not told me thy servant who should sit on the throne of my lord the king after him ?

And king David answered and said : Call to me Bethsabée. And when she was come into the king, and stood before him,

The king swore and said : As the Lord liveth, who hath delivered my soul out of all distress,

Even as *I swore to thee by the Lord the God of Israel, saying: Solomon thy son shall reign after me, and he shall sit upon my throne in my stead,* so will I do this day.

And Bethsabée bowing with her face to the earth worshipped the king, saying : May my lord David live for ever.”\*

It is only at the very end, then, that the cause at work is revealed. Adonias, at the time of his rebellion, was, like Absalom before him, the heir to the throne ; but he evidently felt it necessary to make his position secure, for a rumour had gone forth and it was well founded : David had sworn to Bethsabée : “ By the Lord the God of Israel, saying : Solomon thy son shall reign after me.”†

It would be superfluous to point out, after what has been said upon previous passages, how perfectly these various rebellions dovetail into the history *when* the keynote is disclosed, but only then. Would a fraudulent compiler of bogus records trust his claim to acceptance to such easily-overlooked proofs ? The whole incident shows that the passage descriptive of Nathan’s visit to David for his rebuking, the subsequent repentance of the king and his reinstallation in the Divine favour, was more widely known than we should naturally conclude from 2 Kings xii. May we not also conclude that people commented on the fact that—

“ David comforted Bethsabée his wife, and she bore a son, and he called his name Solomon, and the Lord loved him.

And he sent by the hand of Nathan the prophet, and called his name, Amiable to the Lord, because the Lord loved him.”‡—

\* 3 Kings i. 5-31.

† 3 Kings i. 30.

‡ 2 Kings xii. 24-25.

and that they all, and not merely Absalom and Adonias, drew their just conclusions therefrom?

Again, another coincidence. The most crucial period in David's life, excepting his pursuit by Saul, was his flight from Absalom, when all left him and he wandered on the east of Jordan as an exile. A peculiar interest attaches, then, to those who showed themselves at that time truly "friends in need."

"And when David was come to the camp, *Sobi the son of Naas* of Rabbath of the children of Ammon, and *Machir the son of Ammiel of Lodabar*, and Berzellai the Galaadite of Rogelim,

Brought him beds, and tapestry, and earthen vessels, and wheat, and barley, and meal, and parched corn, and beans, and lentils, and fried pulse,

And honey, and butter, and sheep, and fat calves, and they gave to David and the people that were with him, to eat : for they suspected that the people were faint with hunger and thirst in the wilderness."\*

The writer alleges no reason why these two, Sobi and Machir, should have shown themselves so friendly, and we are left to find out the reason for ourselves.

One of the many generous acts which the great-hearted king had done concerned his treatment of the house of Saul "for Jonathan's sake." Though he had loved Jonathan and their love had been mutual, the house of Saul and Saul's retainers had no reason to love David, who, though by Divine decree, had dispossessed them. Still, David was generous, and we read :

"And David said : Is there any one, think you, left of the house of Saul, that I may show kindness to him for Jonathan's sake?

Now there was of the house of Saul, a servant named Siba : and when the king had called him to him, he said to him : Art thou Siba? And he answered : I am Siba thy servant.

And the king said : Is there any one left of the house of Saul, that I may show the mercy of God unto him? And Siba said to the king : There is a son of Jonathan left, who is lame of his feet.

Where is he? said he. And Siba said to the king : Behold he is in the house of *Machir the son of Ammiel in Lodabar*.

Then king David sent, and brought him out of the house of Machir the son of Ammiel of Lodabar.\*

Here was an act of uncalled-for generosity, and as such it must have struck Machir forcibly. He had been sheltering a member of the outlawed house, and yet not only does the reigning sovereign say nothing about it, but he extends regal hospitality to the scion of the fallen stock. Small wonder, then, that he in turn is generous to David in the latter's hour of need.

Similarly with regard to Sobi the son of Naas :—

“And it came to pass after this, that the king of the children of Ammon died, and Hanon his son reigned in his stead.

And David said : I will show kindness to Hanon the son of Naas, as his father showed kindness to me. So David sent his servants to comfort him for the death of his father. But when the servants of David were come into the land of the children of Ammon,

The princes of the children of Ammon said to Hanon their lord : Thinkest thou that for the honour of thy father, David hath sent comforters to thee, and hath not David rather sent his servants to thee to search, and spy into the city, and overthrow it?

Wherefore Hanon took the servants of David, and shaved off the one half of their beards, and cut away half of their garments even to the buttocks, and sent them away.

When this was told David, he sent to meet them : for the men were sadly put to confusion, and David commanded them, saying : Stay at Jericho, till your beards be grown, and then return.”†

Hanon had been ungenerous in an unexampled degree ; not so Sobi, who may have been his brother, and who probably succeeded him on the throne of Ammon. He had seen David's generosity and its ungenerous reception by Hanon, and his country had indeed paid a bitter penalty for that prince's action. When the hour of David's need comes he makes a generous return for the helping hand once extended to his own family.

And how simply all this is told ! No hint as to why they in particular should have been generous to David, not even any sign that Sobi was brother to Hanon, an hypothesis at which we can only guess.

\* 2 Kings ix. 1-5.

† 2 Kings x. 1-5.

To give yet another instance of that seeming carelessness in regard to what we consider necessary identifications for credibility's sake, but the natural absence of which is itself an argument for credibility. We read in Chronicles :

"And Joas king of Israel took Amasias king of Juda, the son of Joas, the son of Joachaz, in Bethsames, and brought him to Jerusalem : and broke down the walls thereof from the gate of Ephraim, to the gate of the corner, four hundred cubits.

And he took all the gold, and silver, and all the vessels, that he found in the house of God, and with *Obededom*, and in the treasures of the king's house, moreover also the sons of the hostages, he brought back to Samaria."\*

Why should Joas have found these treasures in the house of *Obededom* rather than in anybody else's house? Rather a superfluous and unreasonable question, we might be told ; and yet the answer is speedily forthcoming if we look for it, though the *author is at no pains to put us on its track* :

"And with them their brethren : in the second rank, *Zacharias* and Ben, and Jaziel, and Semiramoth, and Jahiel, and Ani, and Eliab, and Banaïas, and Maasias, and Mathathias, and Eliphalu, and Macenias, and *Obededom*, and Jehiel, the porters."†

But had the porters necessarily charge of the treasury? Yes ; for we read :

"And *Zacharias* the son of Mosollamia, was porter of the gate of the tabernacle of the testimony :

All these that were chosen to be porters at the gates, were two hundred and twelve : and they were registered in their proper towns : whom David and Samuel the Seer appointed in their trust.

As well them as their sons, to keep the gates of the house of the Lord, and the tabernacle by their turns.

In four quarters were the porters : that is to say, toward the east, and west, and north, and south.

And their brethren dwelt in villages, and came upon their sabbath-days from time to time.

To these four Levites were committed the whole number of the porters, and they were over the chambers, and *treasures*, of the house of the Lord."‡

\* 2 Par. xxv. 24.

† 1 Par. xv. 18.

‡ 1 Par. ix. 21-26.

It is only when we have clearly grasped the fact that the biblical narrative is often careless about marking such identifications and rarely goes out of its way to prevent any obscurity, that we can appreciate at its true value another very striking identification which has been proposed, but which might, without such knowledge, appear fanciful to many.

Why had Joab such a preponderating influence over David and the fortunes of Israel? Not merely because he was a great soldier—Amasa and Abner were probably as valiant as he; nor because he was an upright man, for that he certainly was not. Now Joab is always mentioned as “Joab, the son of Sarvia,”\* and Sarvia, we are told,† was the sister of David; yet David, Joab’s uncle, was seemingly considerably younger than his nephew. But the fact that Joab is always called by his mother’s name would lead us to suppose that she was of high rank, and on investigation we learn that she was the daughter of Naas:

“Now Absalom appointed Amasa in Joab’s stead over the army: and Amasa was the son of a man who was called Jethra of Jezrael, who went in to *Abigail the daughter of Naas, the sister of Sarvia who was the mother of Joab.*”‡

Who was this Naas? Is it possible that he was the king of Ammon, and that a member of his harem, the mother of Sarvia, afterwards became the wife of Isai and the mother of David? If this is a fact, it would go far to explain the domineering character of her son, and also another passage to which we have alluded before:

“And it came to pass after this, that the king of the children of Ammon died, and Hanon his son reigned in his stead.

And David said: I will show kindness to Hanon the son of Naas, as his father showed kindness to me. So David sent his servants to comfort him for the death of his father.”§

And also that other passage to which reference has been made before:

\* 2 Kings viii. 16, et alibi.

‡ 2 Kings xvii. 25.

† 1 Par. ii. 15-16.

§ 2 Kings x. 1-2.

"And when David was come to the camp, Sobi the son of Naas of Rabbath of the children of Ammon . . . brought him . . . wheat and barley."\*

To take another instance : when Solomon found it necessary to disgrace the high priest Abiathar because of his treasonable connection with Adonias, we read :

"And the king said also to Abiathar the priest : Go to *Anathoth* to thy lands, for indeed thou art worthy of death : but I will not at this time put thee to death, because thou didst carry the ark of the Lord God before David my father, and hast endured trouble in all the troubles my father endured."†

Why to *Anathoth*? Why not to Silo or any other town? The author presumes that we know that *Anathoth* was one of the priestly cities, as we read elsewhere in the story of their assignment :

"And *Anathoth* and Almon, with their suburbs : four cities."‡

And so similarly we read :

"The words of Jeremias the son of Helcias, of the priests that were in *Anathoth*, in the land of Benjamin."§

Not a word of explanation is vouchsafed in either the historical or the prophetic passage. The writer is, if we may so express it, beyond explanations ; his story is true, and details fall naturally, and therefore unadorned with careful identifications, from his pen. And apropos of this question of "priestly" *Anathoth*, it should be noticed that the theory of Gräaf and Wellhausen, which has so strong a hold just now, rests on the supposition that the growth of the sacred records is to be explained by the selfish aims of the priestly caste. Were this really the key to the order of the sacred narrative, should we not expect that such little identifications as those which referred to the priestly cities would be more fully drawn out lest they should escape attention?

And now, as one last instance of this undercurrent of minute fidelity to detail, we will take one not of our own

\* 2 Kings xvii. 27.

‡ Jos. xxi. 18.

† 3 Kings ii. 26.

§ Jer. i. 1.



finding, but one which has been worked out with peculiar felicity by Professor Blunt.

David's double sin was the bane of his life, and the whole period which elapsed between that fall and the aged king's death was but the working-out of the demands of the Divine Justice, as the Bible clearly shows. But while the sacred narrative is content to sketch for us the broad lines of the Divine retribution, a glance beneath the surface will reveal to us the undercurrent of suffering which David's sin brought upon him.

"Now the counsel of Achitophel, which he gave in those days, was as if a man should consult God: so was all the counsel of Achitophel, both when he was with David, and when he was with Absalom."\*

This is the account given of Achitophel, David's chief counsellor. Why, then, in the story of Absalom's rebellion, do we read:

"Absalom also sent for Achitophel the Gilonite, David's counsellor, from his city Gilo. And while he was offering sacrifices, there was a strong conspiracy, and the people running together increased with Absalom."†

Evidently Absalom and Achitophel were already in league, and the wily counsellor only awaited the completion of the plot to at once leave his old master, who was much distressed and afraid when he heard of his defection:

"And it was told David that Achitophel also was in the conspiracy with Absalom, and David said: Infatuate, O Lord, I beseech thee, the counsel of Achitophel."‡

Yet notice that David expresses no astonishment at his so doing; he seems to look upon it as something only to be expected. And Achitophel, with his sage discretion, must have had some powerful inducements to make him throw in his lot with a cause, the unsuccessful issue of which would mean disgrace and death for himself.

Two chance passages show us at a glance the evil passions which induced him to take this step. Who was Bethsabee?

\* 2 Kings xvi. 23

† 2 Kings xv. 12.

‡ *Ibid.*, 31.

"And the king sent, and inquired who the woman was. And it was told him, that she was *Bethsabée* the daughter of *Eliam*, the wife of *Urias* the Hethite."\*

And who was *Eliam*? In the list of David's heroes we find:

"*Eliphelet* the son of *Aasbai* the son of *Machati*, *Eliam* the son of *Achitophel* the *Gelonite*."†

Surely no more need be said!

To conclude, then. What do these coincidences prove? Will they prove that the context in which they occur was written at the commonly accepted date? By no means.

Will they prove that the writers were inspired? Not at all. But, bearing in mind that in the foregoing pages only a fraction of the proved coincidences have been given, these coincidences at least go far, very far, to show that the respective authors who thus unconsciously agree, not merely "knew some details of Jewish history," but were thoroughly cognisant of it, and betray a knowledge which is either that of a contemporary or at least derived from contemporary documents. (*cf.* the case of *Absalom*). Further, these coincidences show by their "undesigned" character that the writer is no party to a fraudulent projection into the past of a fictitious history compiled for the purpose of priestly aggrandisement. Yet that such was the purpose of their composition is the foundation of the *Græafian* view; and it is this feature of these "undesigned coincidences" which should be pressed home when arguing with them.

HUGH POPE, O.P.

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\* 2 Kings xi. 3.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 34

ART. V.—CONTEMPORARY PICTURE OF  
THE RELIGIOUS TROUBLES IN  
ENGLAND, 1642-3.

THE *Sieur F. de Marsys* was a gentleman in the suite of the *Comte d'Harcourt*, French Ambassador in England in 1642. He had probably lived in England some time previously and served as interpreter to the embassy, for he was a master of the English tongue as appears on the title page of a later work, published in 1649, a translation of the "*Trial and Death of King Charles I.*," where he styles himself "*Interprète et Maître pour la langue Française du Roy d'Angleterre regnant à présent et de son Altesse Royale le Duc de Yorke, son frère.*" He left the ambassador's service in 1644 to pursue some profession—probably of languages—in England, "*où j'avais commencé de jeter les fondements de ma fortune,*" when he was promptly expelled from the country as a foreign Papist, and returned to Paris, where, in the following year, he published the first part of his book on the recent religious troubles in England, the complete work appearing in 1646.

This is all we know of our author's history. Of his character, his power of observation, and, from his point of view, scrupulous exactitude and graphic gift of language as, in good nervous French, he recounts what his own eyes have witnessed during the three stormy years, 1641 to 1644, the pages of his book bear witness. From within the shelter of his embassy—though more than once he shows us how precarious was even the safety of that precinct in those days—he watches, an interested but dispassionate observer, the Puritan iconoclast at work, and proves once again that history might have a stereotyped

page for describing how in Rome of old, Jerusalem, London, Paris, the blinded mob acts as the dreadful instrument of the demagogue and agitator. As de Marsys describes a visit paid by his ambassador to the prison of some venerable ecclesiastic on the day before his execution, we are forcibly reminded of the words of another ambassador, Mr. Washburn, writing 200 years later, to describe his visit to Archbishop Darboy and his fellow hostages of the Commune. The words are almost identical, the outspoken indignation against the judicial murderers the same.

After describing all that the Protestants of the Church of England had retained of the ancient faith—a visible chief, an altar, images, vestments, &c.—de Marsys draws a humorous picture of the Puritan factions. “These metaphysicians are too lofty to admit that the body and matter can have any part in their devotion. They approach too nearly to the angelic nature to abase themselves to the ancient methods of serving God, which men have practised. The Holy Ghost, which seizes them in shocks, has taught them a more excellent way; prayer offends the Divine knowledge which sees into our hearts, bishops shock the Christian humility which admits of no superior, baptism is useless, festivals superfluous, music importunate, vestments ridiculous, penance hypocrisy; in fine, to seek to lay up a treasure of good works according to the counsel of the apostle is to offend the glory of Christ. . . . This is the creed of these new apostles; he who will believe it, and cut his hair close above his ears, no sin shall ever be imputed to him.”

Remembering that he writes three years before the death of Charles I., it is interesting to read the following appreciation: “England having admitted the Calvinists to the Communion of her Church, instead of avoiding by this means (as she had hoped) the deformity which the diversity of sects is bringing into Europe, on the contrary, has raised a stumbling-block in the way of her own security, and, thinking to unite the heresies, she has divided the State. These new doctors soon let it be known that they were as much opposed to temporal

authority as to ecclesiastical ; that they were as great enemies of princes as of bishops, that they desired the liberty of doing everything as well as that of believing nothing ; and that they were no more disposed to pay tribute to Cæsar than the ceremonies of religion to God." De Marsys had dedicated his book to Queen Henrietta Maria, then an exile in Paris, and we feel that otherwise the word "weakness" instead of goodness and confidence would have come under his pen in passages like the following : "The king furnished them, during his reign, with several occasions favourable to their designs ; his goodness excited their audacity, his confidence facilitated the means, and his marriage furnished them with the pretext. . . . They gain the people in the Churches and the offices in the court ; everything gives way to them, for they bear on their foreheads the extermination of the Roman religion, but in their hearts the subversion of the State ; they bark against the Catholics, and bite the monarchy meanwhile. . . . I say it with horror, and would hardly believe it had I not my eyes for witnesses : I have seen one of the best kings of the world (who had never sinned against his people but by excess of goodness), without arms, without money, helpless, and at the mercy of a mutinous people, separated from his friends, surrounded by corrupt servants, betrayed by his confidants, his beloved consort a fugitive, his sons in danger, his revenues seized, his palace invested. This is the state to which he has been reduced by the faithful, religious, and humble Puritans."

He next contrasts the conduct of the Catholics towards the king with that of the Puritans, and we see again how he distinguishes between the latter and the Protestants of the Church of England : "Let us see how those *traitors* of Catholics are comporting themselves, so that not through passion but by reason, not by arguments but by facts, we may judge which of the two parties is pernicious to the State. The Catholics, despoiled of their possessions, attacked in their lives, offended in their honour, deprived of the exercise of their religion and of all charges in the State, have never taken arms against it (I mean by public

counsel, and do not justify the crimes of individuals, to whatever religion or condition they may belong). . . . The Catholics defend their oppressor, the Puritans oppress their benefactor because they want to dominate : the Prince is supported by his slaves against the parricidal knives of his adopted children. The religion which they calumniate as treason, is the one which commands inviolable obedience to lawful rulers. This heresy, which holds the reins of the State, is the one which seeks to subvert the monarchy wherever it can establish itself. . . . Whilst all the world was flying from his ill fortunes, and that fear and sedition kept him apart from his friends, his nobility and his people, the Catholics, inspired by nobler sentiments—remembering that they were disciples of Him who paid the tribute to a Pagan emperor—preferred to serve a despoiled king than a triumphant rebellion. They embraced a desperate cause, which the Protestants themselves (whom it concerned much more nearly) had abandoned. . . . It is not the hope of liberating their religion from servitude which invites them to this choice, for to whatever side victory may turn, they can expect nothing but to fall under the domination of heresy ; they prefer, however, to perish with the one because its authority is legitimate—in a word, these generous souls have thrown themselves blindly into the party of the monarchy."

Our author goes on to tell us how "Un jeune Seigneur catholique," whose name, for obvious reasons he withholds, went to the king at Windsor, furnished him with money, induced him to go to York, there brought him further supplies, and in two months' time raised troops in his own county which enabled the king "to cause his strength to be feared by those who had despised his mildness ; and although Parliament has seized the greater part of this cavalier's possessions, he does not cease his daily efforts to levy troops, and since the beginning of the war has furnished very great sums of money for the service of his king." De Marsys compares to the swarming of bees the rush of the Catholics of all ranks and conditions rallying round the Royal Standard "at the roll of the drum, and the clash of arms."

The rage of the Puritans found vent in the revival of all the penal laws against the Catholics. Our author, in writing of these, is careful to give a clear and concise *précis* of them all—those of Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I.—showing his close study of the question and desire to furnish documentary proofs of his assertions. These laws, he says, which the mercy of the kings had allowed to fall into desuetude, were reinforced. “New officers have been established, whom they have let loose upon them like so many famished hounds, coupling with them the most rascally and perfidious of our apostates. Wherever these inhuman satellites pass they spread dismay and terror.”

He here places his first description of the iconoclastic debauch of which he was a witness, and few things in the book are more interesting, or fill the reader with a greater sense of impotent regret and anger than these accounts of the destruction of works of art so beautiful and reverent—the scattered relics of which now rank among our country’s most cherished possessions. “In a part of the town called ‘Chepeside’ there stands a great pyramid, surmounted by a cross, and has at the foot the figures of Our Lord, the very-glorious Virgin, and the principal doctors of the Church. This work is one of the chief ornaments of the city; the art and the design are no less admirable than the richness of the material. It is the first thing shown to strangers to content their curiosity. The Brownists and the Puritans never pass before this venerable monument without cursing it, calling it an idol and threatening its ruin. When they come off duty, it serves them as a mark for discharging their muskets! They have already disfigured the face of the statue of Christ and of several saints. It is the object of their spite and indignation when their army receives a check, and their plaything when they are in the humour to divert themselves. A short while ago, a burgess of London (a butcher, as I afterwards learned) induced a brigade of Puritans to follow him to the assault of this revered fortress; he led the attack and scaled the iron palisade which surrounds it; then, addressing the image of God the Father, he vomited an infinity of blasphemies and seized it by the head to tear it down.



But, as he himself confessed, he was seized with a great giddiness and buzzing in his ears, so that he fell backwards and died within three hours." This startling occurrence saved the monument for the time, but in a later chapter we find the end of it thus described: "This beautiful work which had hitherto been held in such veneration that it had escaped the rage of Elizabeth and the feeble policy of her successor James, the destruction of this fine master-piece was destined to the Puritans. They arm themselves, not tumultuously as on the former occasion, but by public council, by order of Parliament, and march with beat of drum and lighted match against this sacred standard. . . . With the aid of the Anabaptists, the Brownists, and the Atheists, with iron bars they smash the effigy of our Redeemer and send a violent discharge of musketry against all the statues of the saints . . . with mighty strokes from hammers and other weapons they destroy this rare and magnificent structure so entirely that not a trace of it remains."

We feel that the lover of art, as well as the religionist, expresses his sentiments in the above passage, as well as in the following: "In the Chapel of Westminster, a work worthy of the piety of Henry VII., they have broken to pieces a very fine bronze altar. In the Cathedral of Canterbury there were windows which strangers used to visit as some of the finest works of their kind—they have broken them nearly all. In a word, wherever they are the masters, they attack the images, trample them under foot, tear or burn them. . . . If, however, they find some valuable picture, their zeal for religion yields to their cupidity. They sell to some Catholic what they have taken from another, and, the next day, go to pillage what they themselves have sold; this shameful commerce is not only tolerated but authorised by Parliament, which, by public and solemn decrees, has given full power to the officers to enter by force into the houses of 'malignants' (so they call the Catholics and the followers of the king) to break open the doors, open the coffers, seize both goods and persons, and (if they cannot carry everything away) to make an inventory of what remains, so that nothing may

escape their avidity. Those who know by experience the licence and libertinism of soldiers, and the difficulty which the severest chiefs find in keeping some sort of discipline among them, can easily judge of these, who are invited to disorder by their superiors, who find profit joined to impunity, spoils without danger, and glory without hardship. In one day I have seen seventeen houses pillaged, the furniture carted away in broad day-light, and the next day exposed for sale. And this detestable traffic, begun two years ago, has lasted to the present hour, and will only finish with the end of their power, or the lack of material whereon to exercise it. But they do not stop here; they seize the rents, cut down the timber, and take the money of the Catholics, and forbid their debtors to pay what they owe them, and, moreover, after having taken away all their means of livelihood, still oblige them to contribute. When they have emptied the purses they attack the persons, and, having despoiled them of all they possessed, by an infinity of torments they seek to extort the confession of some hidden treasure."

In 1638, Marie de Medicis had arrived in England, thereby adding to her son-in-law's embarrassments. Charles, however, received her well, and treated her generously, making her an allowance of £100 a day, and even attempting her reconciliation with her son, Louis XIII. Parliament forced her to leave on the 22nd August, 1641, and she died in Holland a few months later. This is de Marsys' account of her misadventures: "I should need a volume to relate all the ill-treatment they (the Puritans) inflict upon foreign Catholics on account of their religion. I shall content myself with one or two examples of which I was an eye-witness, beginning with the greatest Princess of Europe, down to the smallest artisan. After having poured out for more than a year, both in public and in private, all the insults their rage could furnish against the late Queen-Mother, they determined to ransack the palace in which she was lodged, under pretence that Mass was celebrated there, and that her chaplain, the Rev. F. Sulfran, preached with great edification. This princess expected every moment to be the victim of their fury, and

it is to be believed that they hastened her death by the continual apprehensions they caused her. They did so much that they deprived the king of the means of continuing in her favour the generous tokens of his filial and royal affection. This obliged her to sell her plate and her horses for the means of subsistence ; and, at last, these barbarians compelled her to expose herself, ill as she was, to the perils and inclemency of the sea. The cause of this brutality was partly, that the Puritan sect abhors the monarchy, and they could not endure her because she had placed great obstacles in the way of the form of government they wish to establish."

He continues to describe the treatment inflicted upon several foreign noblemen whose evil fortunes had driven them to take refuge in England ; their houses searched under the pretext of looking for arms, but, in reality, to lay hands upon what money could be found there. Even the houses of ambassadors and accredited ministers were not safe, and it is curious to find that in those troublous days passports were necessary between London and Oxford. "One day they threw stones at the house of Monsieur de la Ferté Imbaut and killed one of his maid-servants through the kitchen window. All the world knows how they stole the silver-plate of Monsieur le Comte d'Harcourt, how they killed one of his officers, and the plot they had formed to massacre him and the whole of his suite, as I myself learned from the mouth of one of the thieves, who had fallen into the hands of the law. It is also well-known that they twice arrested the baggage-train of this prince for more than four hours during his first journey from London to Oxford, and the instances they made to Parliament to open his coffers. . . . I may add as a token, that some important body must have planned both the robbery and massacre ; that there is a guard at the corner of every street in London, and even in the sloops on the Thames ; and yet twenty armed men, loaded with plate, were not even noticed ! This is confirmed by the fact that three robbers, who were convicted of the crime, have not been punished ; they are hearty fellows capable of serving the Republic on a similar occasion. Both Houses of Parliament have tried,

by all kinds of civilities and excuses, to show Monsieur le Comte d'Harcourt their indignation at this outrage. As for me, who witnessed the whole affair, I am of opinion, either that the Parliamentarians were privy to it, or that they have fallen into a state of complete servitude—that a company of citizens, at the very gates of the capital, should have the power to arrest the baggage of a prince, whose pass-port, authenticated by both Houses of Parliament, was in the amplest form. . . .

“The Spanish Ambassador lives in his house as in an invested citadel; his servants are obliged to escort the Catholics who leave it, and it happens that in trying to protect them from the pursuivants, persons have been severely wounded on both sides. To ruin an Englishman there needs no other pretext than to have seen him come out of the Spanish Embassy; and were he the strictest Protestant they would maintain that he had been hearing Mass. At the beginning of these troubles they arrested and condemned the Venetian Ambassador's confessor, though he was his servant, and the verdict would have been followed by his execution, if the prudence of the king had not arrested the course of their violence. . . . The letters of public persons are opened, and frequently retained; in a word, there is not a minister of a foreign prince who has not suffered some stroke of their insolence. . . . A while ago they seized an Italian vessel, in which was a Frenchman, one of my friends, whom they detained a month at Dover, and who had to ransom himself for a sum of 500 crowns, simply because he was going to the king. They seized a Spanish ship, laden with silver and cochineal, two or three years ago. Their excuse was that they were in great need of money, and that necessity knows no law. . . . It would seem that England were becoming a new colony of Turks, which Christian vessels should avoid; everyone knows the thefts continually exercised on our merchant ships—the harangue of Monsieur de Sabran on the subject to the Parliament of London is couched in terms which prove that the cause of his displeasure is not a small one.” De Marsys goes on to wish that the princes of Europe, allaying their own

differences, would come to the help of the English monarchy, that the revolutionaries might have reason "to confess that the crowns of Christendom are so united together that they cannot destroy one without making the others tremble."

He next draws a fine picture of the constancy of the English Recusants under the cruelties of the penal laws, and says: "Here I cannot omit one of the most illustrious examples, and which I should have had difficulty in believing had I not witnessed it with my own eyes. . . . It is that of a lady named Margaret Parkins, wife of Mr. Powell, aged about thirty years, related to some of the greatest houses in England, but much impoverished by the continual persecutions she has suffered. . . . By dint of economy and care she was able, from time to time, to entertain a priest to say Mass in her house, a capital crime in this kingdom. But it is difficult to conceal such a secret from the knowledge of so many watchers always on the alert, and she was at last discovered and surprised through one of her own maid-servants. This traitress went to the pursuivants, asked them what they would give her, and she would deliver to them a priest saying Mass, and the lady who harboured him. After a short debate on the price, they promised her five Jacobus, and having received a part of the sum, she led them to a public-house from which they could see the room which served as a chapel. She pointed to a window, and told them that the drawing of the curtain would be a sign that Mass was about to commence. The pursuivants spent the interval in drinking . . . then, introduced by the maid-servant, they crept furtively into the room . . . and seized the priest, not forgetting the chalice and whatever else was of any value. Mistress Powell was arrested and her son, only twelve year of age, who was serving Mass."

The three were taken to different prisons, and there was a long debate whether the priest, the Rev. Thomas Bullacker, should not be taken through the streets in his vestments, but the chance of his being massacred by the mob, and thus evading his trial, induced his captors to allow him to resume his ordinary garments. De Marsys

must have assisted at the trial, so graphic and minute is his description of the scene, and his admiration of the lady's behaviour, of her ready and witty answers, is expressed in respectful terms. "Her words were full of a generous disdain . . . agreeably tempered with the modesty of her sex." Her speech to the judges he describes as better in her native tongue than he can reproduce it in translation, and adds that she was "gifted with a rare majesty, a fine tall figure, and a great facility of speech; she seasoned her discourse with a modest laugh . . . a presence of mind which was neither troubled by fear nor by anger . . . so that her words deeply moved many of the Protestants in the court. One of the judges, a Puritan, told her she would do better for her soul, her own life, and her family, by embracing the religion of the State, than to sacrifice all for popish superstitions; she answered with a smile that as soon as Parliament had made choice of a religion, then they might invite her to accept it; but for the present (the point not being settled, and they being in contestation among themselves) they would have an ill grace in making her an impossible and ridiculous proposition. These words offended the judges, who threatened her at some length with most horrible menaces. . . . Seeing, however, that they could extract nothing from her but disobliging truths and solid repartees, which exposed them to the laughter of the spectators, they remanded her to prison, whilst they deliberated on her case." She was there informed that her fellow-prisoner, the Rev. Thomas Bullacker, had been condemned to death, which sentence was carried out on October 12, 1642.

Her own trial was resumed at the following sessions, and the capital sentence pronounced. On Friday, December 9, she was told that she would be executed on the following Monday. On one of the three intervening days de Marsys visited her in prison, and gives us the following interesting account of her demeanour—how elaborate were the "ordinary civilities" of which he speaks, and of which Mistress Powell omitted nothing, we have some idea, remembering how even a brother and sister in those days,

as vouched for by Dorothy Osborne in her letters, could not conduct an altercation without remembering "their leg and their curtesy" at the end of it. "She received her visitors with a smiling countenance; she forgot none of the ordinary civilities, and preserved the same presence of mind as if she had been at a wedding ceremony or a banquet. She spoke little . . . she replied modestly to each, and with extreme gentleness, and displayed no inquietude or perturbation at the importunity of the crowd of people by whom she was overwhelmed. . . . The rumour of such great constancy filled the whole town, and gave me a great desire to see her. I found her on a balcony, quite at the top of the prison, conversing quietly with several ladies; to judge by their faces you would have thought her companions had been condemned to death, and that she had come to console them. She received me with a courtesy, mingled with so much humility and grace, that I was charmed. . . . Her only anxiety was for her son, lest he should be left in the hands of her enemies, but she was soon freed from this anxiety as he was liberated on account of his youth, and Madame la Duchesse d'Espèrnon received him into her household and took him with her to France."

On Monday morning, December 12, 1642, with the halter round her neck, at the prison door, and at the moment of being laid on the hurdle to be drawn to Tyburn, in company with Father Holland, a Jesuit, under the same condemnation, Mistress Powell was reprieved. The king, whose power was fast falling from his grasp, still retained a sufficient fragment, perhaps to his own greater peril, to exercise his will in favour of this lady, though he could do nothing for her companion.

Margaret Powell's first impression was that of disappointment at seeing the crown of martyrdom elude her grasp, but as de Marsys soberly observes: "He who is ready to die for God, and is not equally ready to live for Him, is not submissive to His will, and rather seeks the ending of his own ills, or the reward of his labours than the glory of his Creator. Humility and obedience are the two infallible marks and the essential properties which



distinguish true virtue from false. . . . There is an obstinacy which imitates constancy, and paints in false colours all the other virtues, but cannot imitate obedience and humility because it knows them not."

The struggle was sometimes long and keen between the clemency of the king, who hated bloodshed on account of religion, and the Puritans. So long as the queen remained in England she interfered on behalf of the condemned priests, and in the case of the Rev. William Webster, an old man of eighty, the hour of his execution was hastened for fear of her intervention. He was hanged, drawn and quartered on the 26th July, 1641, at eight o'clock in the morning, and the queen was informed, on awakening, that the execution had already taken place. "She wept," says de Marsys, "complaining of the cruel surprise, which had robbed her of the opportunity of exercising her royal generosity in his favour." On one occasion this difference of opinion between Charles and Parliament gave rise to one of the strangest of contests between a sovereign and his subject. The condemned priest, John Goodman, was reprieved by the king immediately after his condemnation. This act of clemency caused a great burst of popular fury, the mob threatening to force the prison, and the "Puritans of Parliament pressed the king to consent to his death, declaring it was necessary to give satisfaction to the people. The king replied he was not of opinion that it was advisable to acquiesce in the disorderly movement of an insolent populace, and that they had more proper and less pernicious means at their disposal to suppress them than by encouraging them, and daily giving licence to fresh outbursts."

Here the condemned man interferes, and in his zeal and affection for his sovereign, "foreseeing that his deliverance would cause trouble," supplicates the king not to consider his life, which is not worthy "*de si nobles soins*," but his own interest, "as the reprieve might furnish a pretext and occasion to certain seditious persons who perhaps had other designs, and for these reasons he very humbly prayed his Majesty to let his sentence be carried out; but the king would in no manner consent to it." The struggle

continues, and Parliament at length forces the king to give way, "continuing so to press him that he was constrained to abandon the innocent man to them, not without great repugnance, nor without expressing the resentment he felt at their scorn of his wishes and of his authority." Even this was not the end, "the Parliamentarians, filled with vanity at having thus got their will of the king, determined to show that they could also oblige him; so they gave the Rev. William Goodman his life, or rather changed the manner of his death, for he was thrust into so foul a dungeon that, after languishing some eighteen months, he died on Good Friday, 1642."

Few things are more interesting in these reminiscences than the light they incidentally throw upon the manners and habits, and the degree of culture of society in those days. In describing the modesty and reserve of one of the priests, whose life and death he relates, de Marsys quotes as an instance, that he imperilled his own safety by always refusing, although necessarily disguised as a layman, to enter a public-house, although "it is the custom of the country that persons of condition, ecclesiastics, and women of good repute, should frequent there; it is even held to be an incivility to refuse a person who invites you there."

It is, perhaps, not surprising that gentlemen, even ambassadors and their suites, as a mark of respect for their function and for their character and virtue, should attend the executions of those whom they regarded as martyrs; but it seems almost incredible that delicate ladies, from however exalted a motive, should have been able to endure, without fainting, the long protracted horror of such a spectacle; and yet, "you shall see 'de belles jeunes dames' alight from their chariots to snatch from the flames, at the risk of burning their hands and faces, the heart of a martyr, and braving the blows of the halberdiers in order to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood." The women, indeed, seem sometimes to have had more courage than the men. The execution of the Rev. Hugh Greene at Dorchester, August 19, 1642, thanks to the bungling of the village barber called upon to do the second part of the dreadful sentence, resulted in such a scene of horror for half-an-hour,

the victim living through it, that de Marsys says, "the pen falls from my hand, and my heart quails at the thought." It was a lady of the neighbourhood, Mrs. Willoughby, who had stood by the condemned man, and had received his crucifix and reliquary on the scaffold, who, "throwing herself on her knees before the sheriff, besought him to put an end to such extraordinary cruelty, which he did by ordering the sufferer's head to be cut off."

Among men of culture in the 17th century, Latin would appear to have held the place of French with us. It is a little startling to find that it was so, and, perhaps, a little humiliating to think that it would be as difficult nowadays to find a group of gentlemen conversing readily in Latin, as it would be happily impossible, in our England of to-day, to find the place of their meeting the cell of a gentleman about to go through the painful process of hanging, drawing, and quartering, for the crime of saying Mass. De Marsys speaks of it without surprise, that when they were all assembled in the prison with the Rev. Francis Bell, a Franciscan friar, on the eve of his execution, 20th December, 1643—the Ambassadors of France and Spain, although the two countries were at war, with their suites and other gentlemen—the condemned man spoke to them in French, Spanish, Flemish, and Latin, and he quotes one of his remarks: "*Nolite me laudare ante finem—spero quod Deus absolvet opus.*"

We cannot leave the subject of these executions without again remarking how, in the minutely-detailed accounts of this eye-witness, he is careful to distinguish between the conduct of the Protestants and the Puritans, the latter always *acharnés* against the sufferer, the former often mingling their tears with those of the Catholics, and joining them in their cries to the executioner to let him hang until he dies so as to escape the further tortures of the sentence. It is to a poor Protestant woman that Mrs. Willoughby gives a sheet, and the perilous charge, faithfully accomplished, of gathering therein the mangled remains of Hugh Greene. A Protestant lady shelters the men whom Mrs. Willoughby had first sent on this mission, and who, but for her, would have been torn in pieces by the mob, "for this town

(Dorchester) is the haunt of the *plus méchante canaille* of Puritans in England, and a Protestant is no less hated than a Catholic." Sometimes the incident is almost comical, as when a Puritan preacher, arguing on the scaffold with the Rev. Henry Beath, a Franciscan, executed April 17, 1643, gets the worst of the debate, and one of the officers of justice, although a Protestant, enjoying his confusion, raps him on the head with a stick, bidding him "go to school."

The doings of Parliament in 1643 seem to have been watched with close interest by the French Embassy, especially the peace proposition by the Lords in the month of August, and de Marsys gives a very circumstantial account of its rejection by Pym and his party. "The Brownists, the Puritans, and the followers of some thirty new sects, at once took alarm, like pirates who dread nothing more than *terra firma*, for they exercise their violence and robberies under cover of the disorders which the peace would put an end to. . . . He who steered the Puritan bark and possessed an incredible authority amongst them was Pym, poor and unknown before these troubles, but active, ingenious, bold, and violent. The cabal, led by this man of extraordinary subtlety and cunning, seeing that if the question came to a debate, the small number of their turbulent adherents might fail to throw it out . . . plausibly managed to adjourn its consideration, proposed by the Lords on the Saturday, to the following Monday. . . . The Italian says, 'He who has time has life'; the time was short, but the labourers were active . . . they employed it in consulting with the Brownists and others of the same species, who imagined that this accommodation would prove their ruin, that the laws against them would be reinforced, and that they would be oppressed by the Protestants and by the Papists (as they call them), and subject to the vengeance of a king whom they had irritated. On the Monday morning (August 3rd), therefore, all the scum of the town whom—it is credibly believed—they could muster, marched to the House of Parliament, occupying the streets and passages, violently stopping the chariots of the Lords, crying 'War,' 'War'! with threats

of vengeance if they continued to press for peace. They were some 7,000 or 8,000, not ten of them above the rank of a cobbler. Those of their faction inside the House adroitly availed themselves of the occasion . . . so that not one of the others dared to oppose an opinion which had so great a multitude to support it."

The Lords, finding themselves so cunningly outwitted, determined upon a counter-mine, and, as the populace had served one faction, in order that the troubles might continue, they disposed from hand to hand, among the most honest people of the town, that they should come and petition Parliament for peace. The poor people, fearing to be punished if they came in arms, and judging that to ask for peace it was well to come in a pacific manner, thought it best to send their wives, to see whether their prayers would have as much power to obtain a useful thing, as the clamours of an insolent mob had had to avert it. On August 9th, to the number of between 6,000 and 7,000, dressed as if going to a wedding, they went, some of them to the House, and the rest in the surrounding streets. . . . In an orderly manner, without confusion, they asked the members to receive their humble petition." . . . De Marsys here gives the text of the petition, and then goes on to relate its effect on the Puritan faction. . . . "They could not refuse their request by any solid reason, and foresaw that if it came to be discussed, its justice might obtain a majority of votes. They therefore judged it best to cut the knot they could not untie, and, at the moment when it was least expected, a number of armed men suddenly appeared and made a furious discharge of musketry on this unarmed and suppliant crowd, sparing neither age nor sex. They stretched six or seven at once in the dust, among them a woman leading a well-born child of six by the hand, with a younger one on her arm. To the *mousquetades* succeeded blows from swords and halberds, which cruelly wounded more than sixty; the rest fled like frightened deer before a pack of hounds. . . . I confess I have seldom heard of a greater act of barbarity than this, which I saw with my own eyes."

Our space will only permit us to recall one more of the scenes which passed before our author's eyes — the destruction of Queen Henrietta Maria's chapel. For nearly two years Parliament had, from time to time, ordered its demolition, and the arrest of the Franciscans who served it, according to the terms of the queen's marriage treaty; and de Marsys minutely describes the efforts of the French Ambassador to prevent the execution of the project, which he considered an insult to his own sovereign, as well as to the daughter of Henri IV. On February 26th, 1642, the danger was imminent, the serjeants, escorted by a turbulent mob, had already broken down the outer doors, when the French agent, Monsieur de Bure, hastily intervened in the name of the King of France, and averted it for the time; the emissaries contenting themselves with imprisoning the monks in their own cells and setting a guard over them. But those were not the days of calm councils, and the place was doomed. "On Maundy Thursday, 1643, four members were deputed by the Lower House, without the knowledge or consent of the Lords (a deliberate crime against the laws of the realm), to seize the monks and destroy the altar and images in the chapel. . . . Our agent, informed of the tumult, hastened to the scene and made opposition; the Marquis de Vieuville also gave proof of all the eloquence which his good wit and long experience could suggest, but in vain. . . . The doors were soon forced, and the pillage began. . . . The Protestants ran to the cellar, the Puritans to the images. . . . The monks were taken to the house of a judge, here called the sheriff, and the victorious troop hastened into the first garden, where, at the end of an avenue, stood a great crucifix with a statue of St. Francis kneeling at its foot. Some of them, seizing the head of the crucifix, tore it down with many blasphemies, and then, having broken off the head of St. Francis, knocked the one against the other, crying—'See the gods of the Papists fighting'; and then played at bowls with them both. . . . A Member of Parliament called St. John, who led the band, having a halberd in his hand, was the first to run to the high altar, where

was a very fine picture by Rubens of great value, and, attacking it as Don Quixote attacked the windmills, with horrid blasphemies, ran it through with his halberd. This first stroke roused the applause and emulation of all the valiant troop, and they were soon victorious of every statue in the chapel. Then, following up their triumph, they climbed to the tribune, where they found a part railed off with a balustrade, where the queen had been accustomed to pray. Knowing that it had been her place, St. John ordered it to be destroyed, which was instantly done. The altar, although of marble, soon yielded to their blows. . . . Another Member of Parliament, Martin, seized all the finest vestments and richest ornaments, especially those of linen, which he gave to a woman he entertained; the rest divided among themselves what he did not keep. . . . The escutcheons of our kings, and of the late queen mother, were torn and trampled under foot. Our agent having again intervened, Martin said things to him which I dare not set down. . . . What will they say to all this? It cannot be ascribed to a popular tumult, because it was executed by order of Parliament, by four of its members, and by soldiers under its jurisdiction."

M. H.

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ART. VI.—EXPERIMENTS IN THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN GERMANY.

*Didaktik als Bildungslehre*, 2 vols. Dr. OTTO WILLMANN. Braunschweig.

*Das Prager pädagogische Universitäts Seminar*. Dr. OTTO WILLMANN. Freiburg: Herder.

*Prüfungs Ordnung für das höhere Lehramt*. Giessen: Münchow. 1900.

*Paedagogische Psychologie*. L. HABRICH. Kempten: Kösel.

THE present year is one of educational legislation. The Education Bill and the registration of secondary teachers will be milestones on the road of educational progress. Though the registration is at present not compulsory, it will have a lasting effect on the training of teachers for secondary schools. Its requirement for a university degree will raise the standard of knowledge within the ranks of teachers, though some of them may be moved more by fear than by conviction of its usefulness. But not even graduates of universities are left in peace, for even of them it requires some additional practical knowledge of teaching, founded on scientific principles. The universities have, in different ways, made, or are making, arrangements to meet these demands. London holds annually in December a diploma examination which lasts two days. Candidates, who must be graduates of the university, are examined in mental and moral science, in methods of teaching and school management, in history of

education, and they are also required to teach a class in the presence of the examiners. As the B.A. and B.Sc. examinations are held only one month before, candidates will have to wait at least one year after having taken their degree. The same is the case at the Victoria University; Glasgow requires five months special study and training; the Royal University of Ireland two years, with two examinations; Birmingham counts the study of the theory and practice of education as subjects for the B.A. and B.Sc. degrees, so that an undergraduate may obtain the higher teaching diploma, together with his degree. We have thus different systems of training from which a candidate may choose the most suitable. These systems may also serve as models to other institutions called upon to prepare their students for teaching in secondary schools. It must not, however, be forgotten that a syllabus is merely a skeleton which is powerless unless it is clothed with flesh and imbued with a living spirit.

A mere glance at the syllabus for the examinations in the theory and practice of education at our universities shows many traces of German influence, although the German term for this modern science, *Pedagogy*, is not often mentioned. No doubt it is wise to learn from a country which, in these matters, has had an experience of eighty years. There has been ample time to ascertain both the advantages and the defects of the system there adopted. Its advantages have been sufficiently recognised and extolled in this country; so much so, that there is some danger of copying even its defects. As these defects were by no means involved in the nature of the system, but were rather the results of peculiar circumstances, there can be no reason why they should be perpetuated and transplanted into England, after they have been pointed out as detrimental by the German authorities. The causes in which these defects originate may be reduced to the following three:

1. The systems of philosophy.
2. The position of pedagogy at the German Universities.
3. The system of practical training for teachers of secondary schools.

## 1. THE SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY.

Pedagogy, as the science of education, must be founded on a sound system of philosophy. German educationists have realised this more clearly than have Spencer and Bain (Willmann, *Didaktik*, vol. i., p. 38). Without this foundation, the theory of education becomes a collection of common-places disconnected with each other, and is consequently not a science. It becomes a pseudo-science of which a witty schoolmaster says that it partly teaches what everybody knows and partly things which nobody ever can know. Logic and ethics will point out to the teacher what material he ought to select for the development of the mind, and psychology will help him to find out at what time, in what order, and in what measure he must use these materials.

Now it is very unfortunate that those educationists in Germany who first tried to make pedagogy a science were hampered by their philosophical systems. A psychology which practically denies the existence of the soul is not a good foundation for a science, of which the very object is to show how the faculties of the soul are to be developed. Again, a psychology which ignores all means for the education of the character other than instruction, must be regarded with suspicion by every experienced educationist. Finally, teachers have not been inclined to take as their guides philosophical systems which have followed each other in rapid succession, each of them showing the flaws, if not the fallacies, of its predecessors.

We are, therefore, not astonished at the absence of any vigorous growth on such shifting sand; rather may we marvel that so much has been achieved in spite of these drawbacks (Habrich, Introduction). A remedy has been suggested by pointing out the *Philosophia perennis* (*ibid.*, p. xv.) as the foundation of scientific pedagogy, and it is encouraging to see that both the London University and the Royal University of Ireland have put scholastic psychology on equal terms with modern systems, the former by acknowledging answers given in the sense of scholastic psychology, the latter by giving the candidates

liberty to use either of two sets of prescribed books, one of them being the works of Zigliara and of Fathers Maher and Rickaby, S.J. As the text-books recommended by the Royal University contain the result of the most recent researches, there is no reason why this well-tried system should not be admitted everywhere. The fact that it has outlived so many of its rivals gives every confidence that it will survive others also, especially if it is placed on an equal footing with them.

## 2. THE POSITION OF PEDAGOGY AT THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

Pedagogy could not find any place at the German universities until it had proved itself to be a science. As it formed, however, an integral part of Herbart's philosophical system, it spread together with his philosophy. Like the other subjects at the German universities it changed with the professors, and as the students were not bound to attend any considerable part of the lectures, and as the lectures did not pretend to give any complete course, the influence of these lectures on the future teachers was, in many cases, inappreciable. Even now the students are not necessarily examined by their own professor, except for their degree, which is merely honorific. The examination which qualifies a man as a teacher of a secondary school is conducted by a commission appointed by the Ministry of Education, and though a certain amount of attendance at lectures is required, together with a certain length of residence at a university, yet the passing of the examination depends chiefly on the amount of private reading.

This condition had necessarily its effect on the character of the lectures. Unless the professor was an enthusiast about practical education, and was himself an experienced teacher, he would be more inclined to apply himself to mere theoretical research. The result would be to make his lectures even less practical and less intelligible and attractive to his hearers. This would especially be the case if his system of psychology and his terminology

differed from those of his colleague who lectured on that subject. If he happened to be a practical teacher, he would illustrate his theories by typical examples from school life ; if he were a good classical scholar or well versed in history or natural science, he would give sound advice on the teaching of these subjects ; but, after all, his work would in most cases be incomplete, both in itself and in respect to most of his hearers. Books could never do the work of a professor of pedagogy. They cannot teach anyone the science of education unless his mind is already opened and trained by habits of observation and reflection ; they cannot supply him with a ready-made system of precepts and rules, because the classes, circumstances, etc., of schools and pupils are constantly changing.\* Only a teacher of ability and experience, who has had the opportunity of a thorough training in psychology and philosophy, can do this. He will show his pupils the influence of different subjects on the different faculties of the mind. He will urge them to keep the development of these faculties constantly in view, especially the formation of character. He will show the relative importance of the different branches of knowledge. He will reduce numerous facts of experience and history to a few fundamental principles of psychology, which must guide them continually, both during the work of teaching and in their private reading. He will warn them against the common mistakes which are made by beginners in teaching, owing to their neglect of the truths which they have learned. He will help them to single out the good points in the lessons given by others. He will indicate to them the particular errors of the time, and show how the young may be safeguarded against them, and how good influences may be used to counterbalance the evil. Above all, he will inspire his hearers with enthusiasm for their future profession, by directing their thoughts and aspirations to the end which lies beyond this material world. Enthusiasm is an indispensable requirement for every teacher ; but whereas the professor at the university

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\* *Special Reports on Education*, vol. v. p. 344.

or in the higher class of secondary schools is supplied with it by the interest he takes in his special branch of study, enthusiasm in the lower forms, where the drudgery is being done, must be drawn from the educational work itself, from the work of assisting a young soul to develop its faculties, from a work which is certainly more noble (even from the mere human point of view) than the art which produces images of marble or precious metal. And because education has to deal with living beings who are endowed with the powers of intellect and will, its work ought to be done in an intelligent and thoughtful way, neither by sudden impulses nor by means of stiff and ill-defined rules, merely learnt by heart.

The ideals of education put before us by prominent members of the teaching profession are high, it is true, and even those who have distinguished themselves in this cause do not hesitate to confess that the science of education is only in its beginnings. On the whole, it has been felt in Germany that university courses on the theory of education have done very little to fit future teachers for their practical work. In order to remedy this defect two different methods have been proposed, and, at least to some extent, put into practice. One consists in withdrawing the professional training of teachers altogether from the hands of the university professors; the other in arranging practical courses of training in connection with the university. The latter proposal was made and has been partly carried out by the two leading men in pedagogy in Germany and Austria—Dr. Rein at the University of Jena, and Dr. Willmann at that of Prague. This new scheme is closely connected with our next point.

### 3. THE SYSTEM OF PRACTICAL TRAINING FOR TEACHERS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS.

When a candidate for the teaching profession in secondary schools had passed his examination before the Government examiners, he had to apply for admission to his annual apprenticeship (*Probejahr*) at some public school. There he attended the classes of several masters,

who were supposed to be to some extent answerable (at least morally) for his practical training. He tried to learn by observation. After some time he would give occasional lessons, and, finally, would take the place of some master who for some days or weeks was unable to do his work. At the end of the year he received a certificate from the head master, which generally was to the effect that he was capable of teaching and managing a class. The effects of this system varied greatly. Some clever candidates who felt much interest in their work, and had an open mind, and who were fortunate enough to come in contact with sympathetic and successful teachers, learned a great deal; but a different class of young men, placed under adverse circumstances, hardly profited at all. It was a haphazard way, which is in strange contrast with the methodic and almost pedantic procedure, which obtains in other details of German education, and one which did not redound to the credit of the men thus trained.

This system (if it can be called such) remained for a long time, in spite of its admittedly unsatisfactory results, partly because the authorities hesitated to put the candidates under the restraint of a compulsory course after they had enjoyed their academic liberty, and partly because they did not wish to prolong the course of education for men who had already spent nine years at the gymnasium and at least three at the university. At length a step had to be taken, and the Prussian Government prescribed another year of practical training at a public school before the Probejahr. The candidates are sent to successful schools in small groups, numbering from four to ten. The head master is responsible for their training, but the other masters share his responsibilities, and also his right to decide as to the fitness of the candidate at the end of the year. The staff of the school are expected to give the candidates lectures on pedagogy, especially on the method of the different subjects taught by them at the school, and to assist them in preparing lessons. Thus a connecting link has been inserted between mere theory and mere practice. But this arrangement has not proved quite satisfactory. Masters who are already fully occupied are



not willing to accept more work for a small remuneration ; teachers who for years have not extended their studies outside their necessary preparation are not up to date, and their lessons do not always illustrate the application of psychological principles ; the institutions themselves remain in the first place schools, conducted for the good of the pupils, and therefore the advantage of the candidates themselves becomes only a secondary consideration.

Dr. Willmann, at Prague, has tried another plan, and he has just published a brief account of his university seminary. Since 1887 this institution has given its students a training in practical teaching. The professor of pedagogy at the university (Dr. Willmann) is the director, and the masters of the school in which the lessons are given form with him the staff of the seminary. The attendance at it is purely voluntary, and the number of lessons given is limited. The great advantage it offers to the candidates is the help given towards preparing very difficult lessons, especially on topics which include different branches of knowledge. Dr. Willmann's ideal, however, would be a closer connection between university and school, a kind of practising school composed of different forms, and representing a complete school. This plan is being tried at Jena, and so far with good results. It is an adaptation of the system followed in the German training colleges for elementary teachers, which has turned out really good and practical schoolmasters. The chief features of these latter institutions are the following :

1. The students hear lectures on the elements of logic and psychology, on general pedagogy, and the history of education. The rector has the supervision of the practising school, and sees that the general principles of pedagogy are constantly applied. He leaves the students at liberty to follow their own ideas when teaching, provided they can give good reasons for their method.
2. The lecturers teach the special method of their particular subjects ; they give model lessons in the school, and are responsible for the teaching of their subjects in the higher standards.
3. One or several experienced teachers, who also belong

to the staff, are responsible for the discipline of the school, and for the teaching of the lower standards. At a weekly meeting one of them appoints the school work for the week, and makes such observations as may be required on the good or bad points which have presented themselves in the giving of the lessons.

4. The teaching is done almost exclusively by the students of the third year. As a rule two of them work together. They teach the same subject or subjects for several months in the same standard, and therefore become acquainted with their pupils, their capacities, and their characters. As the work is changed several times during the year, they have an opportunity of teaching several subjects to different classes, and thus they gain a better insight into the working of a school than they would by giving a number of show lessons in different schools. The students are required to write out notes for every lesson, and have them approved by the lecturer or teacher in charge of the subject, who will also advise them and help them in their preparation.

5. The school is primarily intended for the good of the students, but the fact is that, in consequence of the careful preparation of each lesson, the children are well taught, and thus the school has become a model for others.

Whilst this system gives a real help to beginners, it impresses them also with the necessity of careful preparation, and with the knowledge that they are but beginners, and have still a great deal to learn. The practising school provides for the teacher very much what laboratory work secures for a science student, or hospital work for a medical man.\* Dr. Willmann thinks that if such an institution were established at a university, and some elementary teachers admitted to the course, this arrangement would help to bring about a closer connection between the professors of the university and the teachers of secondary and elementary schools, a connection which

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\* Willmann, *University Seminary*, p. 5. See also the regulation for the School of Brewing at the Birmingham University, especially p. 353 of the *Calendar*, 1901-1902.

would prove beneficial to all concerned.\* The university professors would remain in touch with the preparatory schools, and would be able to give them valuable hints upon the special method of the different subjects, or upon defects which they might discover in their students, the consequence of some oversight or neglect in their previous education.† The teachers of secondary schools would be prepared to teach the first elements of science, and they would learn to esteem the valuable work done by elementary teachers. The latter would gain a clearer insight into the whole system of national education, and would more fully realise their responsibilities. Broader views would increase their earnestness, and would save them from any temptation to undervalue the work done by others.‡

The mission of education is so vast that it requires for its fulfilment all the strength that can be secured by the co-operation of all concerned. Even thus, progress will be slow, and even the best provisions made for the training of teachers can but set them on the right path, open their minds and help them with good counsel. The training of a teacher ends only with his life, and he must never forget that his moral goodness will do more for the education of his pupils than his skill in the art of teaching.

LAMBERT NOLLE, O.S.B.

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\* See the *Address of Sir Oliver Lodge*, Principal of the Birmingham University, at the Degree Congregation, July 19th.

† See the introduction to *Ora maritima*, an excellent Latin reader for beginners, by Dr. Sonnenschein, Dean of the Arts Faculty, Birmingham, published recently by Swan Sonnenschein.

‡ Willmann, *Didaktik*, vol. ii. p. 504.

ART. VII.—THE 'MAGI: A FOOTNOTE TO  
MATTHEW II. 1.

THE second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel opens with these words:

"When Jesus therefore was born in Bethlehem of Juda, in the days of King Herod, behold there came wise men (μάγοι) from the East (ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν) to Jerusalem."

This visit of the Gentile Magi is fully narrated in the first twelve verses of the chapter. An attentive reading of the brief narrative of St. Matthew supplies us with very few, but very precise, data concerning this most remarkable episode of the infancy of Christ. The foreigners who, led by a miraculous star, came to visit Him at Bethlehem were "Magi" (Gr. μάγοι)—number not specified; they came "from the East"; they fell down and adored the Child (πεσόντες προσεκύνησαν); they "opened their caskets" and offered Him gold, frankincense, and myrrh; they returned to their own country, though by another route.

The first point that occurs in the narrative is the name given to those men from the East. We are plainly told that they were μάγοι. Now this term, which was at one and the same time a religious title and a national designation, strictly designated all over the ancient East the priests of the Zoroastrian or Mazdean religion, especially those in the Persian or Parthian empire, their native home. Used in its proper sense, it bore as definite a meaning as the name "bonzes," or "lamas," nowadays applied to the Buddhist monks of Japan or Tibet respectively. This use of the name was quite familiar in antiquity. Cicero tells us "the Persians call the wise men *Magi*," and adds: "Among the Persians the *Magi* read auguries and divine,

nor can any man be king of the Persians unless he has acquired beforehand the doctrine and learning of the *Magi*" (*de Divinatione*, i. 23).<sup>\*</sup> Pliny the Elder states that "Magism in the East rules over the kings of kings"—i.e., of Persia (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxi. 1).<sup>†</sup>

The name itself is an old Persian one. It occurs in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings of Persia as *Magu* (nom. *Magush*).<sup>‡</sup> In the Avesta, strangely enough, it does not occur, except probably in the compound *Moghu-tbish*, "hater of the Magi" (*Yasna*, lxv. 7); but it has survived in modern Persian under the form *mogh*; and the Parsis still have their priests called *Mobeds* (i.e., *\*Moghu-paiti*, or chiefs of the Magi). From the Old Persian of the inscriptions it passed into the Assyrian language in the form *magushu* and in the compound *rab-mugi*, or, "Chief of the Magi"; which is, of course, no other than the *rab-mag* of Jeremiah (xxxix. 3-13), which word is a title, not a proper name.

According to Herodotus, the name was originally that of a people, not of an office, for he reckons the *Máγoi* as one of the six tribes into which the Medes were divided (*Hist.* I. 101), and Ammianus Marcellinus still uses the term in the same ethnographical sense (xxiii. 6. 32). There is strong reason for believing that the great religious reformer and founder, Zoroaster, himself was a Median, and in all probability of the Magian tribe. § At any rate the *Magi* were identified in the minds of the ancients with the priests and philosophers of the religion which claimed him as founder. So the Arabic and Syrian chroniclers; so the traditions of the Greeks relative to Pythagoras and Plato.

But the name gradually took on a secondary and more unfavourable signification. As with other religious, the Mazdean Magi seem to have acquired a reputation for

<sup>\*</sup> "Sapientes Persae magos vocant. . . . In Persis augurantur et divinant magi nec quisquam rex Persarum esse potest qui non ante magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit."

<sup>†</sup> "Magia in Oriente regum regibus imperat."

<sup>‡</sup> Bh. i *passim*, iv. 81.

§ See all the testimonies summed up by A. V. Williams Jackson in his *Zoroaster*, pp. 6-8 (New York, 1899).

wonder-working and soothsaying; hence the origin of the terms *magia*, or "magic," and our modern "magician."

In what sense is the word used in the narrative of St. Matthew? We can hardly suppose that it is there employed—without any qualification—in the unfavourable and damnable sense of "magician, wizard, soothsayer." The whole character of the men, and the divine revelations vouchsafed them, forbid such a sense, and we seem driven to the conclusion that the title can only be used by St. Matthew in its strictly original meaning, viz., of Zoroastrian priests and theologians.

It seems desirable here to ascertain the use of the word *Magus* in Holy Scripture, both in the Old and the New Testaments. In the Vulgate, indeed, we find it employed not unfrequently in both Testaments. In the Old Testament the passages in which it occurs are: Lev. xix. 31; xx. 6; 1 Kings xxviii. 3, 9; 2 Paral. xxxiii. 6; Daniel i. 20; ii. 2, 10, 27; iv. 4; v. 7, 11, 15. In all these passages the word *Magus* is used as a term of reproach, and is generally linked with soothsayers and other superstitious practitioners. But a reference to the original texts will show that the word *Magi* never occurs in Hebrew,\* and in the Greek of the LXX.† it is used *only* in Daniel. To this we may add the Μαγική τέχνη of the Greek original of Wisdom xvii. 7.

In the New Testament the name, both in Greek and Latin, occurs, outside the passage of St. Matthew, only in the Acts, and there evidently in a bad sense (Acts viii. 9, with reference to Simon; xiii. 6, the "false prophet Bar-Jesus," and xiii. 8, Elymas; also the abstract noun *magiæ*, μαγίαι, "magic arts," viii. 11). In all these cases the context is sufficiently definite and clear to prove that the terms are used as common nouns, not as proper names. The case in St. Matthew seems to be absolutely different; and I believe we should be justified in translating Matt. ii. 1, literally: "Behold some Mazdean priests from the East arrived in Jerusalem."

\* But אֹבֵד, pl. אֹבֵדִים; or אִשְׁפָּ (Dan.).

[ † Where ἐγγαστριμύθοι is generally used.

This conclusion leads at once to the consideration of the next important question: Whence did the Magi come? The evangelist seems explicit enough on the point. He says simply "from the East." A glance at the map will show that to the east of Palestine lay the great Persian, or, as it was then called, Parthian empire, Rome's lifelong enemy and rival, one of whose ancient capitals, Susa, was about due east of Jerusalem. This empire of Erân—to give it its native name—was the proper home of the Magian religion and priesthood, a fact which renders the phrase of the Gospel—"Magi from the East"—as natural and as significant as "Lamas from the North" would be at the present day to a person in India (say, "Kim" or his friends) speaking of Buddhist priests coming down from Tibet to Lahore or Calcutta.

This interpretation is not only natural and geographically correct, but is likewise in accordance with the earlier and more common tradition in Christian literature. It is true "the East" is sometimes used in a rather wide sense in the Old Testament, and apparently applied to Arabia, as well as to Persia and Chaldæa (*cf.* Isaías xlv. 11; xlv. 28). Hence some of the early writers make the Magi come from Arabia (Justin, in the second century, *Dial. cum Tryph.*, n. 78, 106; Epiphanius, *Exposit. fid.* 8; Theodor. Heracleot., quoted by Patrizi; probably implied by St. Ambrose, in *Luc.* ii., who says of the Magi, "a Balaam genus"). But far stronger and more general is the patristic tradition that the Magi came from Persia. So St. Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* i. 15), St. Ephrem (*de Maria et Magis*, a most beautiful poem), and all the Syriac writers with him, St. Basil (*Hom. in Chr. gen.* 5), the unknown author of the *Opus imperfectum in Matt.* (of the fourth or fifth century), St. John Chrysostom (*Hom.* vi. 3-4), St. Cyril of Alexandria (*in Is.* lix. 12), and other Greeks. Of the Latin writers may be cited Juvenecus, Prudentius, St. Isidore, Pope St. Leo I. (at least he styles the Magi "remotioris Orientis habitatores—a remotissimi Orientis parte—gens in longinqua Orientalis plagæ regione," *Serm. de Epiph.*).

An objection has been urged that, if the visit of the



Magi to Bethlehem really occurred on January 6th, or the "twelfth day" after our Lord's nativity, it would have been quite impossible for them to have observed the wondrous star and reached Bethlehem from even the nearest part of Persia within twelve days; whereas from Arabia such a journey would not have been an impossibility. But, as an anonymous commentator (*Auctor Serm. in app. opp. S. Aug.*) centuries ago pointed out, there is nothing to indicate that these Eastern sages had received their divine intimation by the miraculous luminary only at the moment of Christ's birth. They may have perceived it long before; nay, the order of Herod, recorded in v. 16, to slay all the male children of Bethlehem *up to the age of two*, as a result of the communication made to him by the Magi, might even be used as an argument that the first intimation of the Divine nativity had been made to the Magi nearly two years before their arrival.

We are here supposing that the visit of the Magi to Bethlehem really took place on the day consecrated in the Church by the festival of the Epiphany, twelve days after the nativity. Another opinion has been held. St. Ephrem, in his beautiful hymn on the Magi,\* places the visit in the second year after the birth; and Father Coleridge, S.J., from other sources arrived at the same conclusion.† Patrizi‡ placed it "after the Purification of the Blessed Virgin." But we must agree with Lamy§ that these opinions, besides according ill with the sequence of events, are in contradiction to the universal Christian tradition.

A few words may here be said about the number of the Magi who came to Bethlehem. It is a curious fact that on this point the Eastern and Western traditions differ. The Syrian writers, as testified by Solomon Bussorensis and others,|| place their number at twelve. The great Syrian historian Barhebraeus testifies that "some make them three, but that James the Bishop [of Sarug] makes them

\* Hymn. vi. 2 de Nat. Chr. ap. Lamy, *Opera S. Ephraemi*, t. ii, p. 495.

† *Life of Our Life*, vol. i., pp. 58-9.

‡ *Dissert. 27 de Magis*

§ *Comment. in S. Matth.* (lithog.), p. 44.

|| Ap. Assemani, B.O., iii. 316.

twelve." The above-quoted author of the *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, of the fourth or fifth century, bears similar testimony from the apocryphal "book of Seth."\* The Latin fathers, from St. Leo onwards, and the constant Western tradition place the number at three. It is true that there are two striking exceptions. In a fresco in the catacomb of St. Domitilla they are represented as four; whilst in one in that of SS. Peter and Marcellinus they are only two. These exceptions seem capable of explanation: in the former the artist has apparently been led by a desire of symmetry, owing to the Virgin and Child being placed in the centre of the Magi on either side; in the latter want of space seems to have occasioned the omission of a figure. On the other hand, Liell, in his *Mariendarstellungen*, has examined sixty-nine early Christian representations of the visit of the Magi. Omitting ten which are damaged, he finds that of the fifty-nine remaining *all* the figures on sarcophagi without exception, and of the frescoes all except the above two, give three Magi. The oldest of these goes back to the middle of the second century.†

We are so accustomed to think and speak of the Magi as "kings," that at first it is a little surprising to observe that neither in the text of the evangelist nor in the earlier Christian tradition is there the least trace of such an idea. The evangelist styles them simply "Magi." No father or ecclesiastical writer speaks of them as kings before Cæsarius of Arles (d. 542), or whoever is the writer of Homily 131 in the Appendix to the works of St. Augustine. The evidence of the Catacombs is still more convincing. The visit of the Magi was a favourite subject in both mural frescoes and on sarcophagi, but in all these pictures they are uniformly represented in one and the same style of costume: a short tunic with girdle, a *chlamys* or short cloak, hose and shoes, and above all a peculiar head-dress—the so-called "Phrygian cap," or "cap of liberty." Now this costume is on the early Christian monuments

\* Ap. Lamy, p. 41.

† See Detzel, *Christliche Ikonographie*, i. 207 (Freiburg-i.-B., 1894).

attributed only to the Magi, to Daniel, to the three children in the fiery furnace, and to the Persian martyrs SS. Abdon and Sennen. There can therefore be little doubt that the Catacomb artists strove to give a faithful representation of the national Persian dress. Indeed, the tall pointed cap of the Magi recalls strongly the somewhat similar sugar-loaf hat worn by the Parsis in India at the present day. Thus the early Christian graphic representations may serve not only to disprove the belief in the kingly character of the Magi, but also to support the opinion that they were Zoroastrian priests from Persia.

Although Detzel, in his *Ikongraphie*,\* states that the earliest graphic representation of the Magi with crowns is an old picture in the Vatican of the eighth century, yet the reproduction, on p. 212 of his own work, of a mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, A.D. 553-566, shows them already with crowns or coronets.

The agency by which the Magi were led on their eventful journey has been a subject of special interest to commentators from the earliest times. The text of the evangelist represents them as led by a miraculous light, which it calls "a star" (Gr. ἀστὴρ). Already St. John Chrysostom,† in a long and exhaustive discussion of this phenomenon, had shown that the guiding light cannot have been in any sense an ordinary star. Firstly, its direction was entirely contrary to that of any known heavenly body, being from north to south, from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. Secondly, it would appear to have been visible even in the daylight. Thirdly, its apparition was irregular, it being seen at one time and not at another, as during the stay in Jerusalem. Fourthly, it must have been at a comparatively low elevation, inasmuch as it was able to guide the Magi not only along the roads leading to Bethlehem, but even through the village and to the very cavern wherein the infant Christ was to be found, *over which* it stood. These conditions clearly indicate some luminous phenomenon, in the form of a light or meteor, moving slowly and at a slight elevation above the earth.

\* P. 206.

† *Hom.* vi. 2.

These considerations of the ancient Greek Father show how untenable is the idea, which has been more than once defended in modern times, that the so-called star was some remarkable constellation appearing at the time of our Lord's nativity. Sepp, in a work marked by numerous errors,\* gives an account of a discovery said to have been made by Kepler of some such extraordinary celestial occurrence which was visible at that time. It is quite evident that such an explanation is not worth while discussing.

St. Leo asks the pertinent question *how* did the Magi obtain their knowledge of the significance of the celestial sign which they followed. He answers, first by a divine revelation, secondly by the ancient prophecy of Balaam.† This idea of an ancient Gentile prophecy of the birth of the Messiah being one of the causes of the journey of the Magi, is a fairly familiar one in Christian literature and legend. But the most interesting of these traditions is that preserved by the Syriac historian, Barhebraeus (1226-1286), which attributes this prophecy to Zoroaster; he writes as follows :

"This man taught the Persians of the manifestation of Christ our Lord, bidding them take gifts unto him, and announced that in the last times a Virgin should conceive a child, and that when he should be born a star should appear that should shine by day and in whose midst should be seen the figure of a young virgin. But ye, my sons (he said), shall perceive his birth before all other nations."‡

Of course, this is a very late testimony, but not without interest as preserving a local mediæval tradition among the Christians of Mesopotamia, and, as will be observed, in close conformity with the conclusions we have arrived at in the earlier part of this paper. For the rest, this identification of Zoroaster with Balaam is much older than Barhebraeus; for instance, it occurs in the *Lexicon of Bar 'Ali* (about 832): "Balaam is Zardosht the diviner of the Magians."§

\* *Vie de Jésus Christ*, t. i., 5-8.

† Serm. i. and iv. de Epiph.

‡ Quoted by Patrizi, *de Magis*, 337.

§ Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, quoted by Williams Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 and 287.

On finding the Child Jesus and His Mother, and after adoring Him, the evangelist tells us that the Magi opened their caskets (*θησαυροὺς*) and presented, as a token of homage, three varieties of valuable gifts—gold, frankincense, and myrrh. The two latter products were at all times highly esteemed perfumes of the East, employed in the cult of all the chief Eastern religions. Incense (Lat. *thus*, Gr. *λίβανος*) was made from the resin of various plants of the genus *boswellia*, and was obtained from India, the Somali coast, and South Arabia. Frankincense and myrrh for purposes of divine worship were among the most important imports of ancient Egypt, and were brought from the land of Punt, to which so many famous expeditions were sent. Myrrh (Lat. *myrrha*, Gr. *σύμνη*) is the *balsamodendron*, whose original home was Somaliland and South Arabia. It is often mentioned in the Old Testament (Heb. *môr*, Aram. *mûrâ*) in company with balsam as a perfume. In Egypt it is said to have been used together with balsam in the process of embalming. Its Semitic name goes back to a verbal root *marar*, indicating bitterness, and thus expressing its bitter taste. Frankincense and myrrh are mentioned together by Herodotus among the natural products of Arabia (iii. 107). A line of Empedocles also combines frankincense and myrrh as used in the worship of Aphrodite in Greece:

*σύνμνης τ' ἀκρίτον θυσίαῖς λιβάνων τε θυώδους.*

(Ap. Athen. xii., p. 510).\*

The use of fragrant woods and vegetable perfumes has always been a characteristic of the Zoroastrian religious cult. The Avesta prescribes their use for the keeping up of the sacred fire, and mentions at least four kinds (Vend. viii. 4, 246; *urvâsni*, *vohû-gaona*, *vohû-kereti*, *hadhânaē-pata*), one of which is apparently frankincense (*vohû-gaona*). The Parsis of the present day use sweetly-perfumed incense or woods (*êsm bôî*) to burn in their

\* On the whole subject of these two perfumes see the recent *Reallexikon der indogerm. Altertumskunde* of Schrader, s.vv. *Myrrhe* (pp. 566, 599) and *Weihrauch* (pp. 940, 599), Strassburg, 1901.

temples. Thus, if the Magi were, as we suppose, Zoroastrian priests, nothing would be more natural than for them to bring among their treasures precious woods and perfumes, as well as the precious metal gold.

From the earliest times the fathers and other commentators of the Gospel have seen in the three kinds of offerings made by the Magi symbols of the triple character of Christ—as King, as God, and as mortal Man—an idea which, as St. Jerome\* remarks, was neatly expressed by the Spanish poet Juvencus (about A.D. 330) in the verse:

“Thus, aurum, myrrham Regique hominique Deoque dona ferunt.”

## II.

So far we have confined our attention to a study of the text of St. Matthew and to the exegetical questions rising immediately out of it, more especially as treated by the early fathers and ecclesiastical writers and in the earliest forms of Christian art. The place of the Magi in art deserves a whole chapter to itself, for it is very largely owing to the treatment of the subject in art that the later great developments of the mediæval and modern legend of the Magi took place. From earliest times the story of the Wise Men and their visit to Bethlehem has formed one of the favourite *motifs* of Christian art. Detzel writes on this point:

“The history of the three Wise Men is one of the best beloved of the episodes out of our Lord’s life which have been treated in legend, poetry, and art. It is already a favourite subject of the oldest legends; in the Middle Ages we find the Epiphany-plays and the writers of hymns† celebrating the event; but to a quite exceptional degree the plastic arts, not only in the Middle Ages, but even in the earliest Christian centuries, have represented this biblical scene. By the close of the Middle Ages there was probably not a single church in which the arrival of the three Wise Men was not to be found either carved in wood or ivory, or painted in distemper on a gold background, or

\* *Com. in cap. ii. Mat.*, lib. 1.

† Specially noteworthy is the already quoted hymn of St. Ephrem, *de Maria et Magis*, with its really charming metrical dialogue between our Lady and the Magi (Ap. Lamy, *S. Ephraem, Op.*, t. ii.).

stained in glass, or embroidered in silk. Christian art was not merely concerned with the historical fact of the arrival of the Wise Men, but was desirous of connecting the event with a special teaching: the miraculous guidance of the Wise Men was to be brought before the eyes of the Christian people as a figure of the guidance of all Christians by God's grace to God's House, the Church in this world, and to God's House, Heaven, in the next world."\*

But this was not all. The great importance of the episode in the eyes of the Church, especially of the Early Church, was that the Magi were the very first-fruits of the Gentiles. The old Jewish religion had been essentially national. We know what difficulties the narrow nationalistic spirit of the Jewish converts caused to the Apostles themselves. The Gentile converts naturally looked back with keen interest and even affection to the very first foreigners—Gentiles, not of Jewish or even Semitic blood—whom God led thus wonderfully to the Messiah. Hence the great importance attached to the Feast of the Epiphany—the "Christmas Day of the Gentiles"—in early centuries: it often ranking higher than Christmas, and always as one of the greatest festivals of the year.† No wonder the event became a favourite subject of art. We have already seen how frequently it appeared in the Catacombs, whether in fresco wall paintings or carved on sarcophagi. Similarly it was often reproduced in lead medallions; on the famous doors of S. Sabina in Rome‡; on the ivory book-cover (of the sixth or perhaps fifth century) formerly at San Celso, now in the Duomo of Milan; in the miniatures of the Codex of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in the Bibl. Nat. of Paris; on several ivory pyxes in France and Germany; in the *Codex Egberti*, &c., &c.§ With the rise of painting in Italy, from Giotto onwards, the adoration of the Magi becomes a more and more popular subject with the masters of every school both in Italy and elsewhere.

We may now sum up briefly the chief features of the

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\* *Ikonographie*, i. pp. 204-5.

† Detzel, op. cit., p. 216.

‡ Berthier, *La Porte de Ste. Sabine à Rome*, Fribourg, 1892.

§ Detzel, p. 212.



development of the legend of the Magi as they gradually make their appearance in art, and concomitantly in literature and in popular song and miracle-plays.

(1) The *number* of the Magi from the earliest times became fixed in the West as three. There is every probability that this number was confirmed, if not originated, by the number of the three gifts—gold, frankincense, and myrrh: one of each was early on attributed to one of the Magi, though the attributions do not always agree.

By degrees three names were found for the three Magi. In the *Codex Egberti* (eleventh century) two names, PVDIZAR and MELCHIAS are written over the heads of two of them. Other and very fantastic names appear elsewhere.\* But the names now current (especially in Germany) and the characteristics assigned to each, viz., Melchior, Gaspar, Baltassar, make their appearance in the *Collectanea*, formerly attributed to St. Bede.

(2) Meanwhile the three Magi have become *kings*. We have seen above the earliest indications of this in both art and literature—about the sixth century A.D. The origin of the belief is not far to seek. The Church from early times saw in the coming of the Magi, the first Gentiles, the fulfilment of the celebrated Messianic prophecy of Psalm lxxi. 10: "The kings of Tharsis and the islands shall offer presents, the kings of the Arabians and of Saba shall bring gifts"; which Psalm, together with the similar passage in Isaiah lx., is undoubtedly the most striking testimony in the Old Testament to the destined universality of the Kingdom of Christ. And as this universality of the religion of the Messiah may truly be said to date from the adhesion to it of the alien Magi, the text of the psalmist came to be taken quite literally, and they were looked upon as the actual "Kings of Tarsis, Arabia, and Saba."†

(3) There was a still further development than this. Once the Magi identified with the "kings" of Ps. lxxi. 10, it was easy to remark that the three regions indicated

\* E.g., Apellius, Amerius, Damascus; Ator, Sator, Paratoras; Galgalat, Malgalat, Surithim. See Detzel, pp. 212, 214.

† In Germany especially the title "The Three Kings" became universal. The Epiphany is still styled "Dreikönigstag."

in that text ("Tharsis and the islands," "Arabia," and "Saba") represented, according to the general tradition, the European, or Japhitic, the Semitic, and the African races respectively—the only ones known to the ancients. These, again, were identified with the descendants of the three sons of Noah—Japhet, Shem, and Ham. Hence the character and features assigned in mediæval art to each of the "three kings," as they were styled. Hence also the curious fact that the third of them was eventually turned into a negro, or "Moor," and is generally (though not quite always) so represented in art. But as it was not altogether easy to reconcile all this with the simple text of St. Matthew, wherein all are led by the self-same star from the self-same region, "the East," elaborate and fantastic explanations were excogitated, both in mediæval legend and in modern fiction, such as that in a well-known American story called *Ben-Hur*. It requires some ingenuity to bring the Magi from three different points of the compass—west, south, and east—when the evangelist tells us they all came from one direction—the East.

(4) A consequence of the elevation of the Wise Men into real kings involved a further development: they were given numerous suites in accordance with their regal dignity. The number of these attendants grew to vast proportions: even the Oriental traditions recorded by Barhebraeus assign a thousand followers to the Magi\*—a veritable invasion of Herod's kingdom!

The effect of this evolution of the kingly idea is startling enough in mediæval art. The episode became a splendid subject for the rich fancy and skill in composition of the great masters of painting. A real style of *genre* painting, as Detzel truly remarks,† grew up in the treatment of the event. And what a contrast was the result between the simplicity and scriptural accuracy of the early Catacomb frescoes and the exuberance of the mediæval masters! In the Catacombs the treatment is uniform: Mary is seated on a kind of curule or episcopal chair, holding the Child on her knee, whilst the three Magi, in the very simple

\* Lamy, *Comm. in Matt.*, p. 41.

† Op. cit., p. 216.

Persian costume and pointed head-dress above described, approach (always standing, never kneeling\*), offering their gifts. Contrast this simple group with the almost bewildering compositions of the Italian, Flemish, or German painters. Our Blessed Lady, in the midst of often fantastic architecture, surrounded by angelic hosts and accompanied by St. Joseph (from Giotto onwards)—this last a most legitimate and natural addition—holds the Holy Child to be adored by three Kings gorgeously robed in all the splendour of "the barbaric East," either crowned or laying their crowns at the feet of Christ; men of varying ages and different national costumes, one of them generally a negro; a vast train of attendants, courtiers, soldiers, pages, even jesters; horses, camels, elephants, all richly bedizened, fill up the sides and the background of the canvas, producing all the effects of a gorgeous Eastern pageant, rich in colour, but distracting from its very elaborateness.†

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\* The reason for this is clearly explained by Detzel, pp. 208-9.

† In Giotto's (1276—) very devotional painting of the Adoration of the Magi, in the Arena of Padua, the traces of this exuberance are still slight: an angel and St. Joseph are the only figures added. Equally simple is that of Taddeo Gaddi (d. 1366), in Santa Croce of Florence. But already, in 1423, in the masterpiece of Gentile da Fabriano, painted for Sta. Trinità, and now in the Academy of Florence, we have servants, horses, camels, hunting-dogs, falcons, and even apes, introduced. Similar large retinues are seen in the otherwise devotional canvas of Lorenzo Monaco (1370-1425) in the Uffizi of Florence; in that of Andrea Mantegna, in the same collection. The procession of the kings and their retinue in the famous fresco of Benozzo Gozzoli (1429-97), in the Campo Santo of Pisa, is of the most elaborate and complicated character. The composition of Filippo Lippi (1459-1504), also in the Uffizi, is entirely of a *genre* character.

Other well-known compositions of the Italian schools, all more or less of similar character, are those of Fra Angelico (1387-1455) in S. Marco, Florence (much more sober, but still with retinue); Sandro Botticelli (1447-1510), in both the Uffizi and the Hermitage; Ghirlandajo (1449-1494), in three different places in Florence; Francia (1450-1518), in the Dresden Gallery; lo Spagna (d. 1530), at Berlin; Paolo Veronese (1528-88), also at Dresden, whose treatment, says Detzel, "goes beyond the limits of religious propriety; we see in it horses, dogs, sheep, and all possible objects: no wonder the Child Christ turns away ashamed!"

Of the non-Italian schools it must suffice to mention briefly the beautiful Van Eyck (b. 1370—), now at Schleissheim; the famous "Dombild," of the Cologne Cathedral, by some ascribed to Stephan Lochner (d. 1440); and a composition of Hans Baldung Grein (1476-1545) in the Berlin Museum. It would be tedious to continue this list of the more conspicuous paintings of the Adoration of the Magi; the above will be sufficient for my purpose. (I am indebted for most of the information here given to Detzel, op. cit., pp. 213-222.)

## III.

There remains one very interesting question concerning the real history of the Magi, an answer to which may here be fittingly attempted.

Assuming that we are justified, on the authority of the text of the Gospel, of the earliest and practically unanimous tradition of the Fathers, and of the plastic representations in the Catacombs, in holding that the Magi were Zoroastrian or Mazdean priests coming, from some part of the Parthian empire, westwards towards Jerusalem and Bethlehem, it may be asked whether there is any trace in the doctrines or traditions of that ancient faith which would make it not unlikely that some of its enlightened adepts should look forward to the coming of a Messiah or Saviour in future time, and also to some miraculous indication of His advent by means of a luminous phenomenon?

As regards the first part of the question, there can be very little hesitation in giving an affirmative answer. The belief in the future coming at the end of time of a great Prophet, who should be a renovator and reformer, a Saviour of mankind, is an integral part of the Mazdean faith. This future and final Saviour—the last of several—is a well-known character both in the sacred texts of the Avesta and in the subsequent patristic or theological and legendary Pehlevi literature. He is called by a title Saoshyant, or Sôshyant, which is really a future participle of a verb meaning to do good, to benefit, and so might be translated “he who shall benefit, or save” (mankind). It is originally a common noun, and as such is applied to other great prophets and benefactors of humanity; but, *par excellence*, is chiefly used of Astvat-ereta (“he who causes the resurrection”), the last and greatest of all. The coming of Sôshyant was foretold by Zarathushtra (Zoroaster), and his birth is to take place in a quite miraculous manner from a virgin mother (Eredatfedhri) in the peculiar way detailed in the *Bûndelesh* and referred to several times in the Avesta. Of course, Sôshyant is not in the Mazdean legend of divine origin or descent.

That, according to the deistic system of the religion, would be an impossibility. He is therefore to be "of the seed of Zoroaster" himself, as Christ was "of the seed of David." It is not, however, at all necessary to push the resemblance too far: it suffices to state that the followers of the Avesta have all along looked forward to a great Saviour\* to come at the end of time to triumph over all the forms of evil, to set right all the ills of the world, and eventually to bring about the general resurrection and eternal happiness (see Yasht xix. 89-96). This being the case, there would seem nothing unlikely in learned priests of that faith expecting, and eventually being led to seek out and find, such a Saviour of the World. The circumstances of the times might be supposed to render such expectation even more probable. The date of our Lord's nativity (assuming the generally accepted date B.C. 4) falls within the closing years of the long and troubled reign of Phraates IV., the fifteenth Arsacid, or Parthian king (B.C. 37-2). This man was "an abominable wretch,"† stained with every kind of crime and cruelty. His reign was a long series of wars against Rome under Mark Antony and Augustus, as well as against the Armenians and rebels among his own people and family, driven to desperation by his cruelties.

We know little or nothing of the religion of the Arsacid dynasty of Persia, or of their relations to the national Avestic or Mazdean religion. We cannot, therefore, state whether the priesthood and the cult enjoyed favour or were persecuted at this epoch. But in any case "the days were evil," and we can well believe that there was a widespread yearning for deliverance from the miseries under which men were groaning, which might lead them to look forward eagerly to a "Saoshyant," or Saviour.

Secondly, although there is no connection between the

\* A curious little illustration of the use of the term may here be quoted. One of the most eminent living Eranian scholars (Prof. Italo Pizzi, of Turin) made practical use of the term in this sense last Christmas (1901) in writing on a Christmas card which he kindly sent me the Zend words: "Yēsūm Khristem Saoshyantem yazamaide"; i.e., "We adore Jesus Christ the Saviour."

† Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, p. 162 (Berlin 1879).

legend of Sôshyant and any "star" in the literal sense of the term, yet a luminous phenomenon does play an important part in both this and in other portions of the Avestic religion. I refer to the doctrine of the *qareno* (*khvareno*) or divine glory. This is a kind of supernatural effulgence, or "divine light, which brings to him upon whom it descends all virtue, all power, all prosperity."\* It belongs to the Supreme and One God, Ahura Mazdâ himself; to his Amesha-Speñtas, or archangels (Yasht xix. 9-18); it was communicated to the ancient mythical patriarchs and kings, until Yima prevaricated by the sin of falsehood, when the glory fled away in the form of a bird and left him (*ib.* 26-44). Once more it was restored to the prophet Zoroaster (*ib.* 79-82), and it will belong to Sôshyant and his companions at the end of time (*ib.* 89-92).† Thus the expectation of a future Saviour was conjoined in the Mazdean mind with that of a divine light, an emanation of the divine glory, by which he should be marked out and distinguished from all other men. And we have already seen that, according to St. John Chrysostom, some such luminous phenomenon descending upon earth, rather than any celestial body in the sky, seems the only reasonable explanation of the ἀστὴρ of St. Matthew.

In conclusion, then, if we are right in holding that the Magi, the first-fruits of the Gentiles, who were led to seek and find the Infant Saviour in Bethlehem, as recorded in the Gospel of St. Matthew, were no other than Mazdean or Zoroastrian priests, learned and holy men, coming from some part of Erân, or Persia,‡ it would seem a highly

\* Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, t. iii. p. 216 (Paris, 1893).

† For a very full and convincing treatment of the *qareno* see de Harlez's *Origines du Zoroastrisme*, pp. 117-124 (Paris, 1879).

‡ It must by no means be supposed that this is at all a "new" theory, as has been said. On the contrary, it is the original view of the early Fathers, as shown above. The following quotation from Dr. Lingard, for which I am indebted to my friend, Mr. G. Noble, will be found of interest:—"From the narrative of St. Matthew I should infer that the arrival of Magians at Jerusalem was not an uncommon occurrence. It was the question which they put that excited surprise. But from what country did they come? The evangelist did not think it necessary to explain what was so well known to his contemporaries. Commentators differ in their conjectures. To me it appears probable that they came from Persia. Persia was the original seat of the Magian



appropriate and providential circumstance that, whilst the Messiah, the Promised of Nations, was born in a land that formed at the time a portion of the great Roman Empire, the very first of the Gentiles led to know and adore Him were subjects of the other great rival empire, that of Parthia, the only one that was never conquered by the Roman power, the lineal representative of the second of the four great empires predicted by Daniel (vii.), and founded by Cyrus, the anointed of the Lord (Is. xlv. 1) and the shepherd of Jehovah (Is. xlv. 28). Nor is it less striking that they should have been followers and priests of that one of the great Ethnic religions of antiquity which, in the sublimity of its doctrine, the elevation and purity of its moral system, may not unjustly claim to hold the very next rank to the divinely revealed faith of the Old Testament and the New Testament, the religion of Christ.

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religion; and we know that from the accession of Cyrus to the conquest of Alexandria, there existed a friendly intercourse between the Persians and the Jews, which very probably continued after that period. The Persians were monotheists as well as the Jews; they detested the polytheism of the other nations as much as the Jews; and they demonstrated great respect for the worship and the temple of the Jews. Probably they came occasionally to worship there" (*A New Version of the Four Gospels, with Notes Critical and Explanatory*, by a Catholic; London, Booker, 1836).

The late Archbishop Meurin (V.A. of Bombay, and later on Archbishop of Port Louis) gave very striking expression to the same ideas in his essay, "Zoroaster and Christ," wherein he wrote:—"During the first four years and a half of my priesthood, I was one of the vicars of the celebrated Cathedral of Cologne. . . . It is dedicated to the Three Wise Men, or the 'Magi,' who came from the East to Jerusalem to worship the new-born Child Jesus at Bethlehem. That these Magi were priests of the Zoroastrian religion we know from Greek writers. . . . And it was at their shrine that I almost daily offered the Holy Sacrifice to God, little imagining that one day I would be so near to their successors and co-religionists in Bombay" (*Select Writings of the Most Rev. Dr. Leo Meurin, S.J.*, p. 542, Bombay, 1891).

The same view seems generally admitted by modern Orientalists; so Haug, *Essays on the Parsis* (third edition), p. 5, London, 1884. Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson, of New York, in his important work *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Eran*, New York, 1899, speaks of his hero as "this Sage of the Past, the Persian Prophet of old, the forerunner of those Wise Men of the East who came and bowed before the majesty of the new-born Light of the World" (Preface, p. x.).



## ART. VIII.—THE EARLIEST CHRISTIANITY IN CHINA.

THE more we unfold the hidden mysteries of Chinese literature, the more have we reason to admire and approve the inborn aptitude of that people for recording essential facts. The story of the introduction of Christianity into China has at last been rendered fairly clear to us, step by step, in the following way :—

About 280 years ago (1623) some Chinese workmen were excavating an old site within the city bounds of Chou-chih, a *hien* (city) about fifty miles to the south-west of Si-an Fu, which latter metropolis was, at the beginning of the seventh century, after many centuries of division and strife, once more the capital of united China. Chou-chih can be seen on any modern map (Lat.  $34^{\circ} 10' N.$ ; Long.  $108^{\circ} 16' E.$ ), and the modern pronunciation of it ranges, roughly, anywhere between the English “Joe-chair” and “Choate-sir”; for 2,000 years it has, with one or two very short breaks, continuously preserved the same site and the same name. But the name Si-an Fu, now so well known to Europe in connection with the flight thither of the Manchu Court during the “Boxer” troubles of 1900, only dates from about 500 years ago; and in the seventh century the great city was usually known simply as “the metropolis.” In the middle of the eighth century, the Chinese Emperor had to fly from his capital, which place, as well as Chou-chih (763), was for some time in the hands of the warlike Tibetans. These people were then, for the first time in history, asserting themselves and their Hindoo Buddhism as a civilised and religious state on a footing of perfect equality with China.

The workmen, in 1623 above mentioned, discovered a strange slab in a perfect state of preservation, and covered with beautifully-formed Chinese characters, besides certain minor inscriptions in an unknown alphabet. The date of it was 781 (Christian era). Naturally the governor of the *hien*—or the district magistrate, as we call him nowadays—very soon heard of this interesting antiquarian discovery within his jurisdiction. Being, like most civilian officials, of a literary turn of mind, he at once gave orders that it should be taken to a Taoist temple at the imperial capital, a day's good journey distant, for safe-keeping there. He then had it provided with a fine shed in order to protect it from the weather, and he also caused to be set up alongside of it another stone of his own, carefully recording the circumstances under which it had been found. When I was in Hainan in 1891, the local governor did exactly the same thing with some slabs dated 1091 he had found there.

An event of this kind, even in these degenerate days, thus always excites great interest in China. Of course, when the stone of 781 was found in 1623, numerous literary men had already examined it at the "pit mouth" of Chou-Chih, and naturally still more of them flocked to the Taoist temple at Si-an to examine it *in situ* close at hand. It was found to contain about 1,800 Chinese characters, and, as is usual in China with solemn documents of record, it was found to be composed in a very ponderous and recondite, not to say obscure style, bristling with classical and philosophical quotations from the ancient books of China. With the assistance of the admirable Père Hoang, the Shanghai Jesuits have proved that these 1,800 words contain no fewer than 400 ready-made expressions culled from the classics (Book of Odes, Book of Changes, Book of History); Confucius' and Lao-tsz's works; the philosophical "schools," and so on; all fitted on to Christian doctrinal words such as "triune," "the flesh," "sin," &c., &c. There is scarcely any new phraseology.

Amongst the many curious scholars who visited the tablet at Si-an Fu in 1624 or 1625 was a *kü-jên*, or "master of arts," named Chang Kêng-yü, who had, about eighteen years previously, met Père Ricci, the Jesuit, in Peking.

It must here be explained that Ricci had gained a first footing in South China in 1583; this was at Chao-k'ing (Shiu-heng), where he had composed for the information of the Chinese, and had extensively circulated, a map of the world. In 1589 he came to the conclusion that with so many ignorant and despised bonzes in China, and with such an exaggerated respect throughout the empire for book-learning, it would be better for him to abandon the ascetic externals of a monk or mendicant, and with his fellow-Jesuits to adopt the ordinary dress of a well-bred Chinese gentleman; at the same time allowing the hair and beard to grow, in order that there might be no confusion in the literary mind between Catholic priests and Buddhist bonzes: what Ricci looked like in this attire of the then expiring Ming dynasty may be judged from his portrait,\* published in China a few years ago by the learned Christian Père Hoang above cited, and subsequently, with his permission, by myself nigh two years back. In 1598 Ricci made his way to Peking, where, after various disappointments, he at last, in 1605, succeeded in buying a house: and thus it was Mr. Chang had met him.

This Chang Kêng-yü lost no time in taking a rubbing of the stone, and he sent a copy by ordinary courier to Hangchow—the Kinsai of Marco Polo, near modern Ningpo and Shanghai. The world is indebted to Père Hoang for having discovered, in a very rare native compilation treating of the celebrated tablet, a reproduction of the Hangchow correspondent's original notes upon this interesting event. The name of the latter was Li Wo-ts'un or, as the Jesuits called him, "Dr. Léon." He also had made the acquaintance of Ricci, and of Ricci's companion Pantoja, at Peking, and is stated, indeed, to have been himself a Christian. On the 21st of May, 1625, which is the first positive date we have in connection with the matter, Dr. Léon records how he received his friend's letter enclosing a copy of the inscription, and asking: "Can this be the same religion as that of our mutual friend Ricci at Peking?" Dr. Léon then hastened to com-

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\* See *China* (John Murray, 1901); frontispiece.

municate the great news in person to the nearest Jesuits, and of course the tidings would spread like wildfire to the missions already established by them on the Yangtze, and also to those of Peking, Shan Tung, and Shan Si in North China.

The first European missionary to visit the stone was Père Trigault, who was sent that same year (1625) by his superior, Père Rho (of the Shan Si mission), to Si-an Fu in Shen Si province; and specially for the purpose. A Latin translation of the Chinese, or main inscription, was at once sent to Rome, and it is thought highly probable that Trigault himself was, from his known qualifications, the chief agent in evolving it; but there are so many abbreviations, made in Portuguese style, that the reproductions of it are not without uncertainties as to the Latinity thereof. In 1627 Père Terrenz made the first translation of the Syriac portion, which consists chiefly of Nestorian priests' names. In 1628 a very clear and faithful *précis* of part of the inscription appeared in Paris; but it was not until 1631 that an absolutely complete translation in Italian was received, or at least appeared anonymously, at Rome: there is some reason to believe that this Italian version was itself merely a scrupulous rendering of an extremely careful Portuguese translation; but, whatever its origin, it was at once rendered into Latin from the Italian by the Jesuit Kircher in Rome. Père Diaz, junior, is the sole authority for the positive statement that the stone was found in 1623, which is in any case probable, as it must have taken time to move it, inspect it, translate it, and send a copy to Hangchow by May, 1625.

The last Ming Emperors (although uneasy about admitting foreigners into China in consequence of the then threatening ambition of the Japanese, themselves mixed up with Christians) were disposed to avail themselves of Jesuit ability for two separate reasons. First, they wished to utilise their knowledge of gunnery in order to check rebellions and stave off the menacing Manchu invasion; and, secondly, the imperial calendar was in a terrible mess, and it was only too manifest to many thinking men that the Jesuits possessed a monopoly of sound mathematical

knowledge at Peking. Hence, largely through the influence of "Paul Zi" (Sü Kwang-k'i, baptised 1604, whose portrait is given together with that of Père Ricci above mentioned), they managed to hold their ground with the successful invaders during the wars which ushered in the new Tartar dynasty. On the whole, the two first Manchu rulers (1644-1662-1723) were disposed, in spite of hostile advice, to treat the missionaries well, even from a religious point of view; and when, largely in consequence of the intrigues of a jealous Mussulman rival in astronomy (1659-64), restrictions, not to say mild persecutions, became the order of the day, the Jesuits even found an opportunity of personally calling the attention of the Emperor K'ang-hi to the Nestorian stone inscription, the literary style of which he very much admired (1690). But he was very firm to the last in his determination not to allow his toleration to overstep the bounds of political prudence, and it was he who put to them the following pertinent question: "If all this be true, how is it that God waits over 1,600 years before giving us any information; and how is it the Chinese are left out in the cold, and only the barbarians mentioned?" Neither he, nor the Mussulman enemy of the Jesuits, ever hinted that the stone discovered was not perfectly genuine.

After K'ang-hi's death (1722), evil times for the missionaries set in. The stone was by no means forgotten in Europe, but, beyond criticisms and expressions of opinion, little was done in the direction of research. Voltaire's gibes are, of course, worthless, as also are the opinions of all who are unacquainted with Chinese history and literature. The Jesuit Bartoli, who had access to all the religious archives after he was summoned to Rome in 1650, was himself, as well as many others less amply equipped with material for correct judgment, in some doubt about the now unquestionable Nestorian character of the tenets proclaimed by the stone. However, I am as ignorant in point of doctrine as Voltaire was of Chinese, and I simply state the views of the late Père Havret, S.J. Even so late as 1718, Père Le Comte wrote that Chinese history recorded nothing about the progress of Christianity. It was not until 1735

that Père du Halde, in the course of his translations from Chinese history, came across a very important imperial edict, dated 845, in which specific mention is made of a Christian religion similar to that described on the Nestorian stone. By this edict foreign religions of all kinds were practically extirpated throughout China. Père du Halde does not appear to have translated the histories himself so much as he depended upon the superior Chinese knowledge of Père Hervieu; but he supervised at least, and accepted the responsibility. Père Gaubil's remarks on the same subject were not published until 1814, and in the meantime the elder de Guignes (1721-1800) had had, in his capacity of academician, ready access to Gaubil's papers and manuscripts, and had appropriated his views, without naming their source, in his well-known *Histoire des Huns*. In the same way, the younger de Guignes (1759-1845) appropriated Père Basile's dictionary, and published it as his own. It is only fair that men who thus acquire reputation at the expense of others should have their fame readjusted from time to time by posterity.

In the year 1854 the exceedingly modest and able Protestant missionary named Alexander Wylie made a very excellent English translation of the inscription. His notes and appreciations are so unexceptionable in point of judgment and good taste that even the Jesuits can honestly write of him as "le regretté Wylie." This indefatigable inquirer also discovered, in 1855, the fact that the original edict of 638, mentioned in the inscription itself, was on record in a certain extant work. A few years later the Russian Archimandrite Palladius actually found it, tracing it back, step by step, from compilation to compilation, to a well-known publication of about the year 950. In 1858 the imaginative French Orientalist Pauthier gave his attention to the Nestorian tablet, and published a very passable translation of his own; but with such a flourish of trumpets that Dr. Legge, even so late as 1865, imagined that Gaubil's important discoveries had been made by Pauthier. Moreover, Pauthier's hostility against his rival Julien was such that his critical judgment was often made subservient to his personal pique. In 1888 Dr. Legge

himself made a new translation ; but even up to that date no absolutely perfect copies or rubbings had been sent home. In 1866 the Protestant missionary, Alexander Williamson, had actually visited the stone, but its emplacement amid rubbish happened to be such, at the moment, that the Syrian inscriptions were hidden from his view. It was not until 1879 that the Austrian party of travellers headed by Count Széchényi for the first time obtained a satisfactory rubbing of the Syrian portions. In 1886 an American colporteur named Thorne secured a new impression of the whole inscription, being himself on the spot ; and in 1891 the foreign ministers at Peking, moved by the consular body in Shanghai, succeeded in inducing the Chinese Government to have the stone at once roofed in, in order to preserve its precious inscriptions from further ravages of time. In the meantime, the late Père Havret, S.J., had applied his acute mind to the all-important subject, and for the last ten years he has been giving as much attention and leisure as his shattered health and his religious exercises left to him to the elucidation of all the contested theological meanings possibly lying concealed within the mosaic of Chinese literary composition. In the year 1894 Père Havret did the unworthy writer of these lines the honour of comparing Chinese notes upon the question of the word *Aloha* which appears in the inscription, and amongst the minor personages who have visited the Vatican with the object of endeavouring to find something new was the individual in question. In the year 1898, after vainly endeavouring to persuade the Prefect of the Vatican Library that there ought to be certain Chinese documents in a particular cupboard manifestly unknown to him, I had the pleasure of "personally conducting" the Rev. Prefect (Ehrle) to the cupboard in question. There we found one rubbing of the Nestorian stone, and a number of fragmentary documents which showed that "some one had blundered" in handling these half-forgotten papers, which were by no means complete.—I may also say, with regard to the edict of 845, that I find it mentioned in the imperial annals of that year, T'ang dynasty, but without detailed mention of all religions suppressed.

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I do not think I can do greater honour to the late Père Havret's memory than give *in extenso* his word-for-word Latin translation of the Nestorian stone inscription, for the use of those, irrespective of country and language, who may be disposed to keep record of an invaluable document naturally accessible to but few in its original Chinese. Accordingly, a full Latin translation is given in the appendix to this article, and a perfectly decipherable photographic reproduction of the original for those who read Chinese. I may add, like Confucius, "I am no composer ; merely a transmitter." Père Havret has absolutely exhausted, in his tripartite work, *La Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan Fu* (Catholic Mission, Shanghai), all the available Chinese and foreign lore upon the subject, and I do no more than present the condensed outline of his conclusions to English readers who otherwise would probably never hear anything of the matter.

The Chinese inscription of 1,800 odd words ends, as is usual with commemorative documents carved upon stone tablets, by giving the date of erection, which was during the spring of the year 781, being the second year of Divus Têh (Virtus) of the T'ang dynasty. It begins by defining the mysterious attributes of A-lo-ha (Elohim, or God), and then proceeds with a rapid sketch of the Creation, as told in the Book of Genesis. Innocent man is next exposed to the wiles of So-tan (Satan), whence unrest, heresy, and schism. After which "our three-one divided body the high and mighty Mi-shi-ha" (Messiah, or anointed one) is announced, and a Virgin gives birth to the Holy One in Ta-ts'in (Syrian part of the Roman empire). Persians, who have noticed the herald star, now come with presents. From the Incarnation the account proceeds to the Redemption. Having fulfilled what was written in the twenty-four books (*i.e.*, as counted by the Babylonian Jews, as contrasted with the twenty-two books of Palestine), the Messiah founded an "ineffable three-one new teaching." After confounding the demon and indicating the way to salvation, He ascended into heaven, leaving behind Him the twenty-seven books (New Testament) to explain His views. The inscription proceeds to discuss baptism and

the Sign of the Cross. The followers of this faith shave the crown and allow the beard to grow, keep no slaves, and recognise no distinction of persons; amass no riches, and purify themselves in strict retreat by silence, prayer, and watching. The beauties of the doctrine are pointed out.

Now comes the historical portion; the words in brackets are purely running comments of my own, intended to explain matters:—In the time of Divus Maximus (627-649) a *shang-têh* ("high virtue") from Ta-ts'in state named Olopên brought some *chên-king* ("true canons") to China. He arrived at Ch'ang-an (Si-an Fu) in the ninth year (635). His books were translated, and he was placed under the care of my lord Fang Hüan-ling (an author on law well known to history), receiving permission to preach. In the twelfth year (638) a decree reverts to the subject, styling Olopên a *ta-têh* ("great virtue"), and alluding to his canonical books and images (the original decree, since found by Wylie, uses the word "Persia" instead of Ta-ts'in, and "canon and teaching" instead of "canons and images"). It goes on to sanction a monastery and twenty-one *tu-sêng* ("redeeming bonzes," a borrowed Buddhist expression), presenting also an imperial portrait to decorate its walls withal. The scribe cites some facts from ancient and contemporary history, and by paraphrasing an old historical statement that "the best men (of Ta-ts'in) were always elected rulers," manages to slip in an ingenious *mot* or *double entendre* which, by adopting the Nestorian word for Christian, may mean either "they (of Ta-ts'in) use no cult but Christianity," or, "they take the highest models for their law." He also changes the old historical word *hien* ("virtuous") to *têh*, apparently so as to connect ancient Ta-ts'in history with the word adopted for "priest" by Olopên. He goes on to state how Divus Celsus (649-683) carried on in his own person this respect of his father for Olopên, who was created "Great Lord of the Law, Protector of the State"; and how the new religion was preached in ten provinces. But during the reign period 698-700 (of the usurping Dowager, infatuated by a Buddhist priest) certain Buddhists

broke out into shamelessness (probably alluding to the "raking together of money in 700 for making a huge image of Buddha"), and in 712 a contemptible set of literates made sport of the religion (this was a year of palace intrigues and abdications). Fortunately two noble priests from the West, the Buddhist Lo-han (Arhân) and the Great Virtue Kih-lieh (this last person is elsewhere stated to have been sent to China in 732 by the King of Persia) succeeded in remedying the ruin. Divus Caeruleus (712-756) took certain favourable steps, and about 742 General Kao Lih-shī (a well-known and faithful eunuch) was directed to place portraits of five *divi antecessores* in the temple. In the year 746 a bonze from Ta-ts'in named Kih-ho appeared, and the bonzes Lo-han (above mentioned) and P'u-lun (= Samantas'âstra), with five others, were commanded to a function. Divus Severus (756-762) had five more monasteries erected in the five prefectures of Ling-wu (near Si-an Fu), &c. (not named, but probably including Chou-chih). Divus Alter (762-779) always made a point of sending presents of incense and food at Christmas time. During the first reign period (780-783) of his present most sacred majesty (779-805), the very learned and distinguished bonze I-se, who had come to China from his own king's capital, and had accompanied as adviser the General Kwoh Tsz-i (one of the best-known men in history) during one of his northern campaigns (against the Ouigours, and also earlier against the Tibetans at Chou-chih in 763), is favourably mentioned. He made presents of glass-ware and gold-embroidered carpets (both mentioned elsewhere as coming from Ta-ts'in). Religion now flourished in numerous monasteries, old and new. The most distinguished and virtuous Tah-so (M. Schlegel identifies this with the Persian *tîrsa*, "Christian") never heard of anything so fine; but the white-habited illustrious scholars (the word *king*, "illustrious" or "sublime," is used in the tablet to denote Christianity) are now seen here in their own persons, and it is desired to commemorate the facts on stone.

Then follows the "eulogy," or poetical composition, which usually sums up a Chinese historical record—as, for

instance, the eulogy to the *manes* of the sailors killed by the French at the naval battle of Foochow in 1884, carved on stone.

1. How the *chên chu* (Verus Dominus) *fên-shên* (divided his body) and came into the world to save and redeem all.

2. How the *king-kiao* (illustrious or sublime faith) was introduced under Divus Maximus, Emperor Ornatus (627-649); how the Scriptures were translated and monasteries founded.

3. How under Divus Celsus (649-683) the *chên tao* (vera doctrina) spread over China.

4. (Omitting the usurping Dowager period, 683-712.) How Divus Caeruleus (712-756) did well.

5. How Divus Severus (756-762) quelled various disturbances in China and restored order.

6. How Divus Alter (762-779) also did well. (The above are evidently the five *divi antecessores* mentioned already.)

7. How (the reigning monarch spoken of by his period) Kien-chung (780-783) displayed his many virtues.

Dated 7th of 1st moon (about the end of February) 781 Great-Planet, *sên-wên* day (Sun-day, *sabbath*), at which date the *fah-chu* (law-lord, or "bishop") Ning-shu had cognizance of the *king* (Christian) congregations in the East.

Written out by Colonel Lü Siu-yen.

Père Cheikho, S.J., of Beyrout, has translated the Syriac portions, as to which the present writer of course knows nothing. There is little of historical interest recorded beyond the mere names of priests:—

1. Adam, chorepiscopus for Sinestan (China).

2. Time of the Patriarch Hananjesu, Catholic lord, chief over the bishops (evidently the man Ning-shu named above).

3. In the year 1092 of the Greeks (counting from the year of the Peace of Babylon, B.C. 311, and the Seleucus division of Syria, &c.), the lord Jabezboujid, chorepiscopus

of Koumdan (also the Arab name for Si-an Fu), the capital, son of Milis of Balkh in Tahouristan, set up this stone. (T'u-ho-lo, or Tahouristan, is frequently mentioned in connection with Persian and Ta-ts'in missions.)

4. A number of other priests' names, such as Jacob, Sergius, Simeon, Paul, John, Zachariah, Ephraim, Gabriel, &c., &c.

In what precedes there is little attempt to do more than sum up what Père Havret himself gathers from the evidence he sets out before us. In the following short statement the present writer explains his own views touching foreign religions in China, for he is of opinion that not only Père Havret, but Chavannes, Devéria, Edkins, Wylie, and many others who have tried to unravel the confusion, have omitted to go far enough back in estimating the value of the words "spirit of heaven."

The original Chinese religion, apart from mere nature worship, was Taoism, a sort of Platonic philosophy, the excellences of which soon became so smothered in alchemy and charlatanism that it has never regained credit for a long period at a time. Confucius introduced a system of practical political virtue which soon superseded Taoism: he himself visited the founder of Taoism, but was unable to appreciate so much vague obscurity. Previous to the introduction of Buddhism in A.D. 62-67, the attention of the Chinese had for at least two centuries been directed to the fact that the Hiung-nu (forebears of the Turks) worshipped *T'ien shên*, or the "Spirit of Heaven." Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism were nearly always rivals in China after this, but I can find no trace of any fourth religion previous to the seventh century of our era. The Turks of A.D. 500 are also stated to have worshipped the Spirit of Heaven. The powerful Sien-pi, or Mongoloid Tungusic Tartars (who monopolised dominion in North Asia after the Chinese had crushed the Hiung-nu, but before the rise of the word "Turk" and the power of the Turks or later Hiung-nu), never seem to have either worshipped the Spirit of Heaven themselves, or to have sanctioned such

worship by the Chinese under their rule. On the other hand, they sanctioned Buddhism.\* From A.D. 400 to A.D. 600 these Mongoloid Tartars of the Toba family, as horse-riding Tartars, not only ruled or exercised supreme influence over the whilom "horse empire" of the Hiung-nu, but also, as Chinese emperors, dominated the northern parts of China. About 500-506 one of these Toba empresses, during a wave of religious repression, is officially stated in standard history to have made an exception of the *Hu T'ien-shên*, or "Spirit of Heaven of the Tartars." Owing to the vague word *Hu* including all Perso-Indians as well as all Turko-Mongols, it has been supposed by some of the learned French writers named that Mazdeanism or Manicheism had already found a footing in North China at this time. But, just exactly at this time, the rulers of the nomad Joujan (the Geougen, or supposed Avars of Gibbon), who were, as supreme Khans, the overlords of the then rising Turks, are mentioned to have been under the superstitious influence of a witch. She prayed to the *T'ien shên* to restore to the Khagan his deceased son, and even pretended to converse with the soul of the prince (a confederate), who replied that he was in *T'ien* above. As the witch in question was introduced to the Khagan by a *nî* (i.e., a *bhikchunî*, or mendicant Buddhist nun), and as *sramana* are distinctly mentioned to have been at the Joujan headquarters, it is not likely that the Tobas, who were then trying to conciliate the Joujan, had any further object in view, when they made an exception, than to permit the Hu, or Tartars, to continue their free worship of the long-known Spirit of Heaven, specifically mentioned in connection with Hun-Turks, ever since B.C. 200, as above explained. On the other hand, it is to be noticed that the celebrated pilgrim Hsüan-chwang, or Hiouen-tsang, when 150 years after this (650) he visited the Western Turks of the Issyk-kul region, found that some of them at least were already fire-worshippers; whilst, again, between

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\* I have attempted to explain the origin of Buddhism in China in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for this month (October).

these two dates, 506 and 650, some at least of the people of the country now known as Harashar are distinctly stated in Chinese history to worship the *T'ien-shên*.

There is specific mention in the years 621 and 631 of both Mazdeans and Manicheans coming to China. There is also ample proof that when the Ouigours (also of Hiung-nu descent) succeeded to the khanly power of the Turks (763), the Ouigours took the Manicheans under their protection, and succeeded in establishing them, not only in North China, but also along the Yangtze river. In 794 the Ouigour influence is even mentioned in Yün Nan and Sz Ch'wan, in connection with the struggle for power between the early Siamese and the early Tibetans. It will be noticed that both Mazdeans and Manicheans are specifically mentioned to have arrived in China shortly before the Nestorians under Olopên arrived in 638.

The following points are to be noticed in attempting to unravel the tangled web. At about the time when Persian missionaries first came, a new written Chinese character for "Heaven" seems to have been introduced: possibly it was one of the thousand new characters officially stated to have been introduced by the Toba dynasty, or recognised by them after years of popular use. The old character *t'ien* ("Heaven"), when applied to the worship of Tartars and foreigners, is now first written with an additional qualifying "letter" having the meaning of "spirit": the historians differ as to whether this new character should be read *t'ien* or *hien*, and add that in the Si-an Fu localities *t'ien* is usually called *hien*. I take it that, as is still the case in the Sin-ning region (locally pronounced Llin-nen, as in Welsh) near Canton, the initial *t'* is or was at Si-an pronounced *h*: thus in Sin-ning *t'yn* ("heaven") is pronounced *hyn*, and *t'yt* ("iron") is pronounced *hyt*. It is also likely, as the late M. Devéria has pointed out, that the direct worship of Heaven having always in China been reserved for the emperor in person, a new compromise-word was desirable for the heaven of the barbarian. Hence we find the words *hwo-t'ien* ("fire-heaven") and *t'ien-shên* ("heaven-spirit") applied, sometimes promiscuously, to both Mazdeans and Manicheans; not only so, but to the worship of the then



contemporary populations in Khoten and Kashgar. This new word *t'ien* or *hien* is apparently never (contrary to what I once supposed) once applied to Nestorians, or, if we prefer to use the term, Christians. Both Manicheans and Nestorians are said to come from Persia, and both equally from Ta-ts'in, and even Tahouristan (Balkh). This is partly cleared up by an imperial decree dated 745, which explains that, for reasons stated, the Emperor has decided that Ta-ts'in is a more appropriate name for the place of Nestorian origin than Persia. Moreover it must be here stated that no single Chinese is ever known to have at any time visited or seen Ta-ts'in: hence, whilst the term had for five centuries been applied in a vague way to the great unknown civilisation specifically stated to be west of the Ural region and also west of Chaldea, the Chinese at no time had any clearer notion of its extent than Rome had of the Seres of Serica. By "Serica" the Romans could at the utmost have imagined Si-an Fu, knowing nothing of new territories like Corea, the Yangtze, Foochow, Canton, and Japan, or of divided Chinese empires. In the same way the Chinese by "Ta-ts'in" could only have conceived the places nearest to the limit of their own ocular observation, knowing nothing of new territories like Spain, the Rhine, France, Germany, and England, or of divided Roman empires. The word "Persia" (*Po-sz*, or *Pa-s*) does not appear in Chinese history before 455, when, after a long break in communication with Parthia and the West, North China (the Toba Tartar emperors) began to receive innumerable embassies from all states between North India, Persia, and the Ural. Their own history states, however, that relations were purely those of courtesy; no influence of any kind was possessed or claimed. The fact that first Parthia and Rome, then Rome and Persia, had been alternate possessors of Georgia (Iberia) and Armenia; and the fact that the Jews had split up into the Palestine and Babylon schools since China first heard of Ta-ts'in, would amply justify any confusion in the Chinese mind as to where Persia ended and where Ta-ts'in began.

When, after many centuries of division between Tartars

and pure Chinese, the Sui dynasty had at last (589) completely reunited China, it was found that the ancient Ta-ts'in was beginning (probably through the Avars, Huns, and Turks) to be spoken of as Fuh-lin (Fer-reng, or Frank\*). Accordingly we find in standard Chinese history, that in or about 610 the second Sui emperor ardently desired to open up communication with Fuh-lin. After the accession of the T'ang dynasty (618), the name Ta-ts'in totally disappears in favour of "Fuh-lin," except in religious matters; but even here priests of some sort, *Mu-dje* or *Mu-du* (not yet identified) are sent to China in 719 from Fuh-lin through the Turk sub-khan or viceroy of Tahouristan or the Oxus region. These same *mu-dje* are stated, on the Ouigour stone recently discovered on the river Orkhon, to have introduced the "true faith" there about the eighth century, whence it has been prematurely assumed that the Ouigours, too, had Christians among them. Whether Fuh-lin means Ferenghi or not, it is certain that the T'ang rulers, when they used that word, only had in mind that part of the unknown western civilisation bounded by the Mediterranean and Persia, and possibly by the Arabs and Turks of the Jaxartes and Oxus.

In addition to the Manicheans, either those of Mani (278) or the reformer Mazdek (500), who are to be absolutely identified by the specific Chinese statements as to what their tenets were, there is frequent mention of the *Muh-hu*, or *Muh-hu-pah*. Owing to the similarity in appearance between the character *pah* and the above-explained new character *hien*, or *t'ien*, competent inquirers into the matter, like MM. Devéria and Chavannes, have been unable to satisfy themselves whether the Magi (Persian, *mogh*) or Magúpat (*Maubad*, Mobed, or "chief Magi") are meant. The name is, in Chinese extracts, usually preceded by the words Ta-ts'in, and followed by the words "*hien* (or *t'ien*) bonzes." Hence it is not clear whether, if *magi*, they were Mazdeans or Manicheans; and, if Manicheans, whether original or "reformed."

\* I have endeavoured to prove this in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April last.

Manes is known to have blended Christianity with his Mazdean basis of thought, and the Chinese state that the Manicheans tried to pass themselves off as Buddhists. Hence we cannot be surprised at the Chinese lumping all religions introduced from the West as "outside paths," or heretical forms of Buddhism, when we find one of them coquetting with both Buddhism and Christianity, and all three coming from the same region. Nor can we blame them for sometimes applying the same terms *ta-têh-sêng*, or "great virtue bonzes," to both Nestorians and Manicheans, and even imagining Nestorians to be a kind of Buddhist. Of course, good Catholics could never admit that Jesus Christ's doctrines were or could have been in any way indebted for ideas to Buddhist missionaries antecedent to Christ; but in the unsettled condition of faiths which prevailed during the struggle between Judaism, Christianity, Mazdeanism, and Buddhism, it can hardly be denied that at least Christ's followers and preachers, who certainly were extensive debtors for ideas to Judaism, may also have been debtors to the other competing religions; just as, two centuries later, Muhammedanism was indebted to both Judaism and Christianity. Catholicism will be none the weaker for finding a *modus vivendi* with history. In more modern times the Chinese Mussulmans, and even the ablest Manchu emperor, have proved to their own satisfaction that the Ouigour Manicheans of the seventh century were no other than the Oui-oui, or Houi-houi (Mussulmans) of the eighteenth. This bizarre error has been ably exposed by the late M. Devéria, who considers—but does not clearly explain when, how, or by whom—that the transliterated word *mo-ni* (Manes) has been rashly identified with the transliterated word *mu-luh* (mollah). All students of Chinese know how the word *Houi-hêh* (Ouigour) insensibly grew—no one knows exactly how or when—into *Houi-houi* (Mussulman). Hence the huge mistake made by the Emperor K'ienlung touching Mussulmans.

The discovery and examination of Chinese texts is an interminable process; but, so far, it appears to me that available evidence points to the following provisional conclusions:—

1. Tartar worship of Heaven existed alongside of Chinese Taoism-Confucianism long before our era.

2. Buddhism from about A.D. 65 immediately affected both Tartar and Chinese religious ideas.

3. Mazdeans and Manicheans appeared in China next in point of date ; but the Chinese do not distinguish clearly, still less do they distinguish between early and reformed Manicheans.

4. Neither of the last two can be certainly identified, either in Tartary or in China, before the beginning of the seventh century.

5. No Christianity of any kind was heard of, even in the faintest way, previous to the same date, in either China or Tartary.

6. Probably the first glimmerings of Christianity appeared in the appropriations from it grafted upon Manicheism.

7. The Nestorians lost no time in righting this wrong to their religious interests by following immediately upon the heels of the Manicheans in order to explain the true doctrine to the Chinese.

8. The Nestorians did not regard themselves as such, or as heretics or schismatics, but as Christians pure and simple—orthodox as they supposed. Though modern Catholics may discern heresy in the doctrine, especially when stated as it is in a mosaic of ready-made quotations from Chinese philosophy, the Nestorians had no such contentiousness or heresy in their minds, except as against Manicheism and Buddhism. They plainly call their bishop a Catholic lord.

9. Olopên, whoever he was, first introduced Christianity into China : it was, subject to imperfection in the recording instrument, genuine Christianity, and Ricci's friends at once recognised it as such.

. . . . .

The above being my personal views, there are one or two points only in Père Havret's views upon which I can venture to offer criticism. Père Havret expressed a conviction that remains of Christian missions dating from the

apostolic period would yet be found in Si-an Fu, which had already become a great capital in the second century before Christ. As the Christian word Aloha is often written as though the same word as the Buddhist word Alohan (Arhân), so far from the Nestorians having in 638 borrowed (and we see that there are 400 other borrowings) a ready-made word from Buddhism, Père Havret thinks it possible the Buddhists may have got their word from the supposed earlier Christians. This is surely rather too much to ask. Besides, the pilgrim Fah-hien, who began his travels in 399, had already used the word Arhân in his book, which Dr. Legge has translated and published.

As to the word "great Yao-sên-wên" in the date, I have not noticed any explanation of how Père Havret "got it," or what it means: the seven *yao* are the sun, moon, and five planets; surely the "great *yao*, or "sun," is better than any fanciful trisyllable, and *shêm-mên* (the older form of *sên-wên*) is not an unlikely form of *sab-bat*, especially as in some dialects the word *wên* is pronounced *bun* or *ban*?

E. H. PARKER.

#### APPENDIX.

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The manifest peculiarities to be discerned in the Latin follow strictly the text left behind by the distinguished French Jesuit, and published at Shanghai. The author of the present paper has handed to us the following extracts from the preface of Père Havret's own book, which seem to show that even his own colleagues held some reserves upon the same subject:—"On n'abusera pas contre son auteur des imperfections de ce fragment, repris à trois ans d'intervalle, interfolié sans cesse, non encore paginé, tenu ouvert à des accroissements inconnus, marqué çà et là de signes de doute que l'imprimé conservera." "De la traduction qui poursuit, en latin jusqu'au bout, l'auteur, en l'écrivant vers 1897, ne faisait personnellement nul cas pour aussi longtemps qu'elle manquerait des développements propres à l'établir."]

#### LATIN TRANSLATION (PÈRE HAVRET).

Magnae Ts'in monasterii sacerdos King-tings retulit.

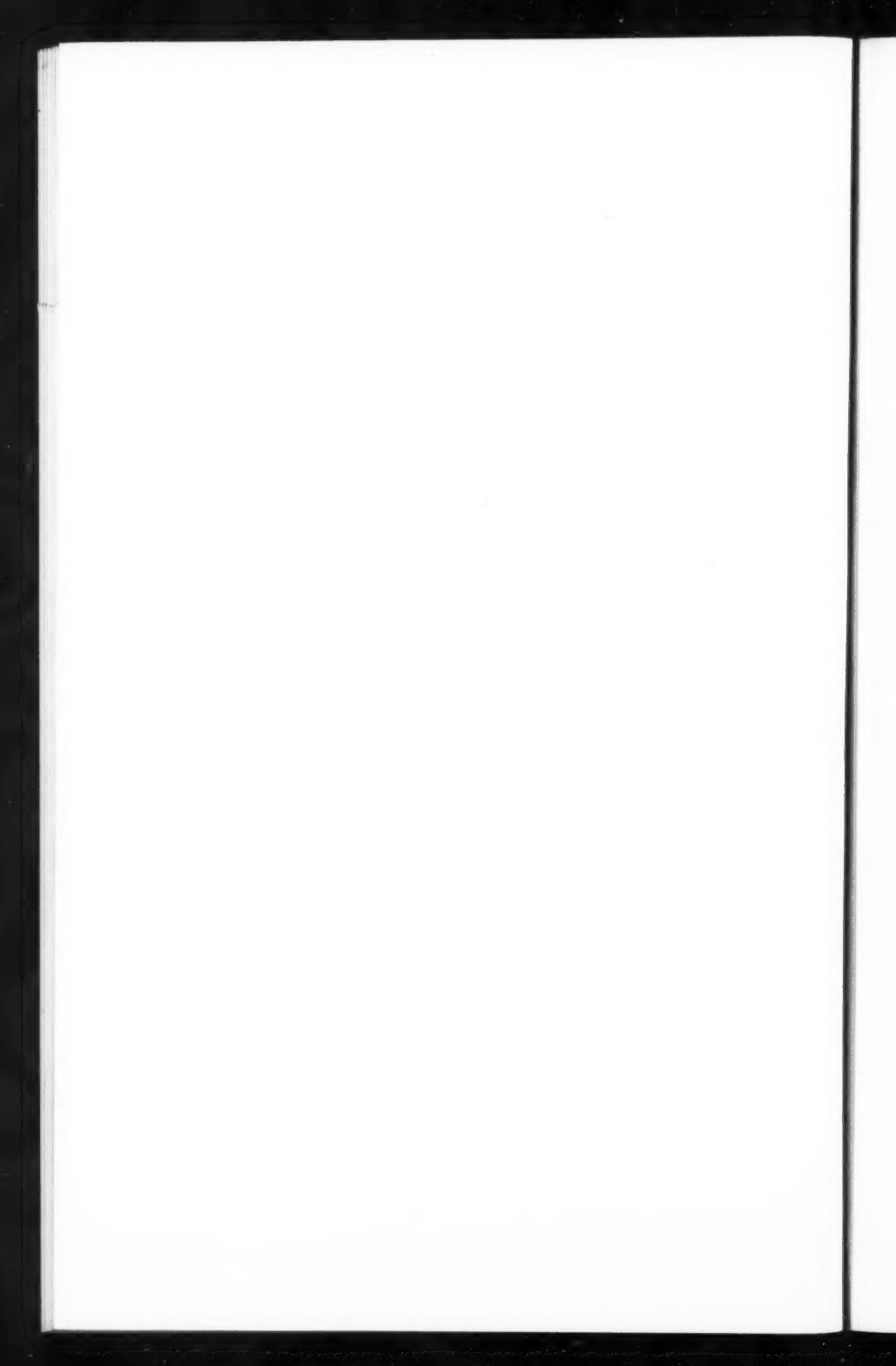
Adamus presbyter et chorepiscopus et papas regionis sinicae.

Euge dum! incommutabilis adeo perfecte quiescens, procurrentis primordiis ipseque carens principio; reconditus adeo spiritualiter purus, novissimorum postremus cujus mirabilis essentia. Sustinet mysticum cardinem, inde operatus creationem; mirificat omnes sanctos, ipse prior venerandus; ille ipse



景教流行中國碑

(Copied from Père Havret's "Stèle Chrétienne de Si-ngan Fu.")





sola nostrae Trinae Unitatis mirabilis substantia, absque principio verus Dominus Aloha, nonne?

Distinguens decussatâ formâ et determinans quatuor oras, civit primigenium spiritum, sicque genuit geminum principium. Tenebris inanique transformatis, jam caelum terraque patuerunt ; sole lunâque circumactis, tunc dies noctesque exorti.

Fabre factis universis rebus, effectum condidit primum hominem, insuper donans integritatis harmoniâ jussit dominari creaturarum universitati. Ingenua ingenita haec natura, humilis et non tumescens ; simplex magnusque hic animus, radicitus expers concupiscentiae appetitus.

Accidit ut Satan diffundens fraudes, oblaqueans fucavit puram essentiam : diduxit rectitudinis dignitatem ab hujus boni medio, admissitque confusionis similitudinem cum suae perversitatis statu.

Quapropter tercentae sexagenae quinque sectae humeris subsecutae connectebant orbitas, certatim textentes legum retia. Alii commonstrantes creaturas, hoc insistebant principio ; alii evacuentes Ens, sic immergebantur superstitione ; alii precabantur, sacrificabant ad evocandam felicitatem ; alii jactabant virtutem ad decipiendos homines. Sapientiae cogitationes assidue movebantur ; affectuum studia semper intenta ; defessi adeo quin succederet, ustione urgebantur, magisque torrebantur : gradatim obtenebrabant perditionis viam, protrahebantque aberrationem fausti reditus.

Interea, nostrâ Trinâ Unitate replicante seipsam, praeclarus venerandus Messias, reconditam celans veram majestatem, assimilatus hominibus prodiit saeculo. Angelici caeli praedicaverunt exultantes ; virginalis puella peperit Sanctum in Magna Ts'in. Praeclara stella nuntiavit fausta, Persaeque videntes fulgorem venerunt oblaturi.

Adimplevit viginti quatuor (Sanctorum) disertas antiquas leges, directurus familias regiasque per magnam institutionem. Instituit Trinae Unitatis purissimi Spiritûs vixdum edictam novam religionem, informans virtutis praxim par rectam fidem.

Constituit octo statuum regulas, sublimandis facultatibus perficiendisque sanctis. Aperuit trium principiorum januas, reserans vitam extinguensque mortem. Affixit praeclarum solem, ad dirumpendam tenebrarum aulam ; diabolique fraudes ex hoc jam omnes confractae. Remigans misericordiae cymbam, inde conscendit lucidas aedes ; possidentes animas ex hoc jam transmeati. Potentiae opere tunc perfecto, rectâ meridie ascendit homo-deus. Scripturarum relinquebat 27 libros, evolventes magnam reformationem ad aperienda spiritualia claustra.

Legaliter baptizatur aqua et spiritu, abstergitur vanum decorum et abluitur purissimo candore. Sigillum tenetur crucialis forma, refulgent quatuor orae ut uniantur sine acceptione.

Percusso ligno, resultat misericordiae beneficentiaeque sonus; orientis adoratione, curritur vitae gloriaeque iter. Promittunt barbam, ideo quia habent exteriores relationes, raduntque verticem, propterea quod carent internis passionibus. Non nutriunt servos captivosve, aequiparantes nobilitatem vilitatemque in hominibus, nec congregant merces divitiasve, ostendentes exhaurientes largitiones in seipsis. Purificatio per secessum recogitationemque perficitur; circumspectio per silentium vigilantiamque obtinet firmitatem. Septenis horis rituali laude, magnopere succurrit vivis defunctisque; septima die semel offertur, ablutaque corda recuperant candorem.

Vera constansque doctrina mirabilis, ideoque difficilis nominatu: meritoria usu praeclare relucente, cogimur denominare Praeclaram religionem. Ast doctrina sine sapiente non invalescet; sapiens sine doctrinâ non magnificabitur: doctrinâ sapienteque compacte convenientibus, caelo subjacens politum collustrabitur.

T'ai-tsong expolito imperatorio principe, gloriose florideque auspicante fortunam, conspicue sapienterque gubernante populum, Magnae T'sin regni, fuit Magnae virtutis dictus: O-lo-pen conjiciens caeruleas nubes tunc attulit sanctos libros, intendensque aerae harmoniae inde obiit difficultates periculaeque.

Tcheng-koan nono anno, devenit ad Tch'ang-ngan. Imperator misit gubernatorem ministrum, Fang dominum Hiuenling, praepositum lictoribus occidentali suburbio, hospiti occursum deducturumque intro. Conversis libris bibliothecae aula, disquisita doctrina seposito septo, penitus compererunt rectitudinem veritatemque, expresseque edictum transmitti tradique.

Tcheng-koan decimo et secundo anno, autumno septimâ lunâ, mandatum aïens: "Doctrina caret immutabili denominatione, sancti carent immutabili methodo: congruenter locis statuuntur religiones, dense salvandis omnibus viventibus. Magnae Ts'in regni Magnae virtutis O-lo-pen, longinque afferens libros imagines, venit oblatum supremæ metropoli. Disquisita hujus religionis mens: recondita, mirabilis, expers conatus; introspectum ejus principii fundamentum: vitae, perfectionisque statuta summa. Dicendo non redundat verbis; rationabilis ut obliviscantur nassam. Succurrit entibus, prodest hominibus; convenit peragrare caelo subjacens quod regimus.

Tum in metropolis Justitiae pacisque vico, construxere Magnae Ts'in monasterium unum aedificium, admissique religiosi viginti unus homines. Avitae Tcheou virtute deficiente, caeruleum plastrum occidentem ascenderat: Magnae T'ang doctrinâ splendente, praeclara aura orienti aspirat. Dein jussum gerentes magistratum sumere Imperatoris delineatum simulacrum, appingereque templi parieti: caelestis decor exundans venustate, floride collustrabat Praeclara limina; sanctaque lineamenta salientia felicitati, perenniter glorificabant Legis septa.

Juxta Occidentalium regionum illustratam memoriam, et Han Weique historicos codices, Magnae T'sin regnum, meridie comprehendit rubri corallii o mare septentrione attingit omnis pretiosi o montes, occidente spectat Immortalium fines floridasque sylvas; oriente excipit continentem ventum debilesque aquas. Ejus territorium producit igne abluendam telam, revocans animam aroma, claritatis lunaris uniones, noctuque radiantes gemmas. Mores carent latrocinio furtoque; populus fruitur gaudio paceque. Lex, exceptâ Praeclarâ, nulla viget; princeps, nisi integer, nullus stabilitur. Territorii spatium latum, vastum; litteraria res splendescens, illustris.

Kao-tsong Magnus imperator valuit reverenter continuare avum; splendide adornavit verum principium, et in omnibus praefecturis singulatim instituit Praeclara monasteria; denuoque honorans O-lo-pen, creavit Praepositum regni magnum Legis dominum. Lex pervasit decem provincias, imperiumque ditatum magnâ prosperitate; templa impleverunt centum civitates, familiaeque abundare praeclarâ felicitate.

Chen-li annis, Che alumni utentes audaciâ eruperunt ore in orientali Tcheou; Sien-t'ien fine infimi litteratuli magnum deridentes oblocuti conviciabantur in occidentali Hao. Erant porro sacerdotum caput Lo-han, Magnaeque virtutis Ki-lié, ambo occidentalis regionis nobilis progenies, saeculo egressi eminentes sacerdotes: simul sustentarunt mysticum funem, conjunctim religarunt disruptum nexum.

Hiuen-tsong praeelsae doctrinae imperatorius princeps, jussit Ning-kouo aliosque quinque reges, personaliter adire Felicitatis aedes, aedificare statuereque altaris aream. Legis culmen brevi incurvatum, tunc mutatum resiliuit; doctrinae petra temporarie eversa jam reversa recte.

T'ien-pao initio jussum magnum ducem copiarum Kao Li-che, deducere quinque imperatorum depictas imagines, monasterioque interiori collocatas deponere; donata sericorum centum volumina, reverenterque gratulatum sapientis effigiei. Draconis barba quamvis distet, arcus gladiusque possunt attingi. Solare cornu diffundit splendorem, augustique vultus pede propiores.

Tertio anno Magnae Ts'in regni quidam sacerdos Ki-ho, respiciens stellas petiit reformatorem, intuitusque solem, obsalutavit venerandum. Edictum sacerdotem Lo-han sacerdotem Pou-luen, aliosque, unâ septem homines, cum Magnae virtutis Ki-ho, in Prosperi gaudii palatio peragere meritum munia.

Super haec, Imperator composuit templi tabellam fronte gerentem draconis scripturam. Pretiosa decoratio emicabat coloribus, fulgore fulgens rubrae nubeculae; sapientis scriptura extensa spatio, impetu insiliebat irradiantis solis. Gratiae favor aequale Meridionali monte attollebat fastigium; abundantia beneficia cum Orientali mare aequalis profunditatis. Doctrina

non nisi efficax : quod efficit, decet nominari ; sapiens non nisi actuosus : quod agit decet efferi.

Sou-tsong politus illustris imperatorius princeps, in Ling-ou aliisque quinque praefecturis, rursus excitavit Praeclaritatis monasteria : summâ beneficentiâ juvat, tuncque felix fortuna incepta ; magnâ prosperitate incessit, jamque imperatorium patrimonium stabilitum.

Tai-tsong expolitus, bellicus imperatorius princeps ampliatas dilatavit sapientis vices ; prosequabatur negotia sine labore. Quotannis in nativitatis die, donabat caeleste thymiam ad monendum perfectum opus ; offerrebatque regales epulas ad illustrandam Praeclaritatis multitudinem. Porro caelitus fuit pulchro incremento, ideoque potuit largiter producere ; sanctitate usus adhaesit principio, sicque potuit ordinatim perficere.

Noster Kien-tchong, sapiens, spiritualis, perpolitus, bellicus Imperatorius princeps, propagavit octo administrationes, et removet promovitque obscuros clarosque ; manifestavit novem articulos, ut nempe renovaret praeclarum mandatum. Procreans penetrat profundam rationem, precansque caret verecundiae sensu.

Quod sit consentaneus, magnus et humilis, simplex, tranquillus et generosus ; late misericors, succurrat omnibus miseris, beneque commodans provideat multitudini vivendum, nempe, nostrî cultûs actionum fuit magnum Consilium, elevantisque attractûs o gradatus progressus sane. Si contingant ventus pluviaeque temporaneæ, caelo subjecta quiescant ; homines valeant gubernari, creaturae valeant purificari ; viventes possint florescere, defuncti possint laetari, cogitationi enatae echo respondeat, affectus expressi procedant sinceritate, illud nostri Praeclararum virum potis, rerum est benemerens efficacia, utique.

Magnus largitor dominus, aurati violacei gloriosi stipendii magnus vir, honorarius Cho-fang regularis directionis vice praepositus, expertus palatii interioris curator, donatus violaceo Kia-cha, sacerdos I-se, concors et amans benefacere, auditam doctrinam diligenter exequens, longinque ex regalis palatii o urbe, porro advenit Medium Hia. Scientiae altitudo, trium dynastiarum, artisque vastitas numeris absoluta. Initio functus munere in imperatoriâ curiâ ; dein inscriptum nomen in regiis tentoriis.

Centralis secretarii magistratu, Fen-yang districtûs rege Kouo domino Tse-i, jamprimum moderante copias in Cho-fang, Sou-tsong fecit illum comitari expeditionem. Etsi reciperet familiaritatem adusque cubiculi intra, non seipsum distinguebat ab ordinum medio. Erat domini ungues dentesque, agebat exercitûs aures oculosque. Valebat spargere emolumenta, donationes, nec congregabat pro suis. Offerebat imperatoriae munificentiae o crystallâ, extendebat colloquiî requiei o auratiles tapetes. Tum sustinebat eorum pristina monasteria, tum

duplicans amplificabat Legis templa, efferensque ornabat porticum tecta, instar phasianorum qui volant. Insuper impensus Praeclarae scholae, insistsens charitati profundebat beneficia.

Singulis annis congregabat omnium monasteriorum sacerdotes tyronesque; reverenter faciente, opipare offerente, parabantur per quinque decades. Esurientes qui veniebant, tunc cibabat eos; algentes qui veniebant, tunc vestiebat eos. Aegrotantibus his, medicabatur et sublevabat eos; morientibus illis, sepeliebat et componebat eos. Purae integritatis Ta-so, nondum auditus taliter bonus; albae stolae Praeclaritatis doctor nunc videtur ipsissimus homo.

Desideravimus insculpere magno lapidi, ad praedicandum egregia facinora.

#### Compositio ait :

Verus Dominus absque principio, profunde reconditus immutabili tenore, inito exordio fabricans creavit, erigens terram statuensque caelum. Multilocans seipsum prodiit saeculo, salvationis mensura absque limite. Sole assurgente, obscuritas destructa, omnesque testificati verum principium.

Majestate plenus expolitus Imperator, doctrina praecelluit praedecessoribus monarchis; accommodo tempore delevit turbas, caelum ampliavit, terra dilatata. Luce radians Praeclara religio, inquam, advenit nostratem T'ang; traducta biblia, constructa monasteria, vivi defunctique navi transfretati. Centenae felicitates simul surrexere, myriadesque regnorum inde prosperata.

Kao-tsong prosecutus avos, amplius aedificavit opulentas aedes; concordiae palatia late coruscantia undique replebant Medium regnum. Vera doctrina patefacta, illustrata; tunc creatus Legis Dominus. Homines potiti laetâ prosperitate, entia caruerunt calamitosis miseriis.

Huien-tsong ineunte sapientiam, potis excolendi veritatem rectitudinem. Imperialis tabella extulit splendorem, caelestisque scriptura luxuriabat irradians. Imperiales effigies gemmantes refulserunt, totaque terra alte honoravit. Omnes actiones simul eluxere, hominesque innixi ejus prosperitati.

Sou-tsong veniens restauravit; caelestis majestas adduxit currum; sapientis sol expandit claritatem; faustus ventus everrit noctem. Felicitas rediit imperatoriam domum, exitiosique vapores aeternum depulsi. Compressa ebullitio, sedatusque pulvis; refecitque nostrum territorium Hia.

Tai-tsong pius, justus, virtute concordabat caelo terraeque. Largiens beneficia, gignebat, perficiebat, entiaque juvabat pulchris augmentis. Thymiamate oblato rependebat favores, charitate usus indulsit liberalitati. Diluculi vallis accesserunt majestati; lunarisque antri omnes coaluerunt.

Kien-tchong tenens summa, tunc excoluit intelligentem facultatem. Bellicus tremefecit quatuor maria; perpolitus purifi-

cavit omnes regiones. Face praeest hominum secretioribus, speculo intuetur rerum varietates. Sex cardines apparent reviviscentes, centumque barbari recipiunt exemplar.

Doctrina illa vasta sane! Efficacia ejus arctissima. Enisi nomine appellare sane . . . Trinam Unitatem. Dominus potuit efficere, hui! subditorum est referre. Statuunt magnam stelam, hui! praedicantes magnam felicitatem.

Magnae T'ang, Kien-tchong secundo anno. Annus inerat Tso-ngo; T'ai-ts'ou mense; septimâ die, magnâ Yao-chen-wen die, statuta erectio.

Praesente Legis Domino sacerdote Ning Chou regente orientalis regionis o Praeclaritatis ecclesias.

Aulici consilii secretarius, quondam agens T'ai-tcheou . . . adiutorem exercitûs, Liu Sieou-yen scripsit.

NOTE.—The isolated letter *o* which occurs four or five times in the Latin represents a Chinese possessive particle which, for some unexplained reason, Père Havret prefers not to translate into Latin.

#### TRANSLATION OF SYRIAN PORTIONS (PÈRE CHEIKHO).

Adamus, presbyter et chorepiscopus et papas regionis Sinicae. In diebus patris patrum domini mei Hananjesu, Catholici Patriarchae; in anno 1092 Graecorum. Iazedbouzid, presbyter et chorepiscopus Koumdan urbis regni; filius quieti (quoad) animam, Milis presbyteri, ex Balkh urbe (provinciae) Tahouristan; erexit tabulam istam ex lapide; quae scripta sunt in eâ, directio ejus Salvatoris nostri, et praedicatio eorum patrum nostrorum ad reges Sinensium. (Names and titles of Syrians.)

E. H. P.

## Roman Decrees.

### E Sacra Congregatione Propagandae Fidei.

De removendis abusibus circa Missae celebrationem in navibus.

#### DECRETUM.

**A**D removendos abusos, quos circa Missae celebrationem, durante maritimo itinere, non semel occurrisset relatum est, EE. ac RR. S. Congregationis Propagandae Fidei Patres in Comitibus generalibus die 24 ultimi elapsi mensis Februarii habitis, omnibus mature perpensis, decreverunt ut infra : omnibus videlicet Missionariis suae jurisdictioni subjectis et speciali indulto fruentibus celebrandi in mari Sacrosanctum Missae Sacrificium praecipuum esse, quemadmodum per praesens Decretum S. Congregatio praecipit, ut quoties eo privilegio utuntur, sedulo et religiose servent praescriptas regulas in ipso apostolicae concessionis rescripto apponi solitas.

Videant nempe, utrum mare sit adeo tranquillum, ut nullum adsit periculum effusionis Sacrarum Specierum e calice ; curent ut alter sacerdos, si adfuerit, rite celebranti assistat ; et si in navi non habeatur Capella propria vel altare fixum, caveant omnino Missionarii ne locus ad Missae celebrationem delectus quidquam indecens aut indecorum prae se ferat : quod certe eveniret, si augustissimum altaris mysterium in cellulis celebraretur pro privatis viatorum usibus destinatis.

Porro hujusmodi EE. Patrum sententiam infrascriptus Cardinalis Praefectus vigore specialium facultatum sibi a SS.mo D.mo Nostro Leone div. prov. PP. XIII. concessarum, nomine et auctoritate Sanctitatis Suae die 25 supradicti mensis Februarii ratam et adprobatam esse declaravit.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide hac die 1 mensis Martii 1902.

✠ M. CARD. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*  
ALOYSIUS VECCIA, *Secr.*



### Decrees of the Sacred Congregation of Rites as to Requiem Masses.

**Plurima et maximi momenti solvuntur dubia circa Missam de Requie.**

R. D. Josephus Erker, canonicus cathedralis ecclesiae Labacensis, de consensu Rmi sui Episcopi, a Sacra Rituum congregatione sequentium dubiorum solutionem humillime flagitavit, nimirum :

I. Privilegium circa Missas de Requie concessum sacellis sepulcreti ex Decreto n. 3903, diei 8 Junii 1896, et ecclesiae vel oratorio publico ac principali ipsius sepulcreti ex Decreto n. 3944, diei 12 Jan. 1897 ad primum, favetne etiam sacellis, ecclesiis et oratoriis publicis sepulcreti, in quo olim cadavera sepeliebantur, quod sepulcretum tamen hodie quacumque ex causa derelictum est, ita ut defuncti in eo non amplius sepeliri soleant ?

II. Praefatum privilegium favetne etiam ecclesiae parochiali, quae circumjacens habet coemeterium, quum in casu ecclesiae parochialis revera evaserit ecclesia sepulcreti ?

III. In anniversariis stricte sumptis laicorum, quae fundata sunt extra diem vere anniversariam ab obitu vel depositione, potestne sumi Oratio *Deus Indulgentiarum Domine* ?

IV. Anniversaria late sumpta, quae ex Decreto generali n. 3753 diei 2 Dec. 1891 pro fidelium pietate infra octavam Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum locum habent, suntne adeo praecise adstricta ad dictam octavam, ut aliis temporibus, e.g., infra octavam Dedicationis ecclesiae vel Titularis ejusdem vel in uno ex Quatuor Temporibus non permittantur ?

V. In ecclesiis ad chorum non obligatis plures Missas habentibus, in die Commemorationis Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum debetne esse una saltem Missa cum cantu de Commemoratione Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum, an omnes possunt esse lectae ?

VI. Quanam Missa de Requie sumenda est in ecclesiis unam tantum Missam habentibus, quando in die Commemorationis Omnium Fidelium Defunctorum occurrit alicujus defuncti dies depositionis ?

VII. Ex Decreto n. 3944 diei 12 Jan. 1897 ad 3, et 3 Apr. 1900 ad 3 et 4 in una *Vicen*, Missae privatae die vel pro die obitus seu depositionis in ecclesiis et oratoriis publicis fieri permittuntur, si in iisdem etiam fiat funus cum Missae exequiali in cantu fieri debeat etiam in oratoriis *semipublicis*, ut fieri inibi possint praefatae Missae lectae de Requie ?

VIII. Juxta praefatum Decretum diei 3 April ad 3 et 4 in una *Vicen.* in oratoriis privatis Missae, quae ibidem legi permittuntur, possunt esse de Requie *praesente cadavere in domo.* Quaeritur : Utrum haec praesentia intelligenda sit de praesentia non solum physica sed etiam *moralis* in *domo*, quatenus ex gravi causa, ex gr., ob contagiosum morbum cadaver vetatur haberi in *domo*?

IX. Ex Decreto generali n. 3755 diei 2 Dec. 1891 Missam exequialem solemnem impediunt Festa duplicia 1 classis solemniora, sive universalis Ecclesiae sive Ecclesiarum particularium, *ex praecepto Rubricarum recolenda.* Quaeritur : Utrum haec ultima verba intelligenda sint tantum de Festis fori recolendis cum feriatione ex parte fidelium vel etiam de Festis chori sine feriatione, qualia sunt, e.g., anniversarium Dedicationis propriae ecclesiae, Festum patroni regionis, diocesis aut loci quae non ubique recoluntur a populo?

X. Quaeritur : Utrum Missa de Requie cum cantu, quae ex praefato Decreto generali n. 3755 ad III. "celebrari potest pro prima tantum vice post obitum vel ejus acceptum a locis dissitis nuntium die quae prima occurrat non impedita a Festo 1 et 2 classis vel Festo de praecepto," cantari possit Feria IV. Cinerum, Vigiliis Nativitatis Domini et Pentecostes, Feria IV., V., VI., et Sabbato infra octavas Paschatis et Pentecostes, quum licet hae dies neque Festa sint de Praecepto neque ritum 1 vel 2 classis habeant, excludunt tamen eadem Duplicia 1 classis?

XI. Quaeritur : (a) An in Missis de Requie, quae abstrahendo a Missa exequiali solemni aliisque occasione hujus lectis, in Semiduplicibus et Simplicibus occurrentibus ab obitu usque ad depositionem alicujus fiunt cum vel sine cantu, adhibendum sit idem formulare ac in die obitus seu depositionis? (b) An idem dicendum sit etiam respectu Missarum quae celebrantur in biduo post factam ob gravem causam sepulturam, si occurrat Semiduplex vel Simplex?

XII. In Decreto n. 3822 diei 3 April 1894 (2) disponitur "ut dum corpus Episcopi diocesani defuncti, sacris indutum vestibus, in propriae aedis aula majori publice et solemniter jacet expositum, Missae in suffragium animae ejus per totum mane celebrari valeant iis omnibus servatis," etc. Quaeritur : An haec dispositio necessario intelligi debeat de *Missis de Requie* pro defuncto Episcopo diocesano inibi celebrandis, idque nullo habito respectu ritus aut solemnitatis diei qua celebrantur,

sive sit Duplex majus aut minus, sive classicum vel Festum solemne?

XIII. Expositio Sanctissimi Sacramenti publica seu solemnis, quae fit de licentia Ordinarii potestne fieri etiam cum pyxide collocanda in Throno tabernaculi?

XIV. Expositio Sanctissimi Sacramenti privata et minus solemnis, quae fit cum pyxide intra tabernaculum, ostiolo patefacto, [si sit permanens et ex causa publica, impeditne Missas de Requie?

XV. Sacerdos obligatus sive ex fundatione sive ex stipendio accepto ad celebrandam Missam pro uno vel pluribus defunctis, satisfacitne suae obligatione, applicando pro iisdem defunctis Missam officio diei conformem in Semiduplicibus aliisque diebus Missas quotidianas de Requie permittentibus, vel tenetur dictis diebus celebrare Missam de Requie, etiamsi fundator vel dans eleemosynam, Missam de Requie expresse non postulaverit, nec Missa celebranda sit in altari privilegiato?

Sacra porro Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. *Affirmative.*

Ad IV. *Affirmative.*

Ad V. Missam in cantu de Commem. Omn. Fid. Defunct. in casu, non esse praescriptam.

Ad VI. Missa erit ut in die obitus.

Ad VII. *Negative* in casu.

Ad VIII. *Affirmative* juxta Decretum 3903 diei 8 Junii 1896.

Ad IX. *Negative* ad primam partem ; *affirmative* ad secundam, quoad festa localia solemniora.

Ad X. *Negative* in omnibus, juxta Decr. Gen. n. 3922 diei 30 Junii 1896. Sect. iii., n. 2.

Ad XI. Ad primum et secundum, adhibeatur Missa ut in die obitus seu depositionis.

Ad XII. Missae lectae, in casu, permittuntur ad normam Decreti n. 3903, diei 8 Junii 1896.

Ad XIII. *Negative* juxta Decreta.

Ad XIV. Affirmative, in casu, juxta Decretum n. 2390  
*Varsavien 7 Maii 1746 ad 4.*

Ad XV. Detur Decretum n. 4031, *Plurium Diocesum*,  
13 Junii 1899 ad IV.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 28 Aprilis 1902.

L. ✠ S.

D. CARD. FERRATA, *Praef.*

D. PANICI, Arch. Laodicen., *Secret.*

### The use of Pontificalia by Abbots of the Anglo-Benedictine congregation.

#### Dubia circa usum Pontificalium pro Abbatibus Anglo-Benedictinis.

R.mus D.nus Episcopus Liverpoolitanus Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi humiliter exposuit, R.mis Patribus Abbatibus e Congregatione Anglo-Benedictina haud dudum benigne concessum fuisse privilegium ut in Ecclesiis propriis usu pontificalium in Missarum solemnibus gaudere valeant. Quum autem non plane constet quaenam ecclesiae tanquam ipsis propriae intelligendae sint, R.mis Episcopis Angliae opportunum visum est, ut Episcopus supradictus, in cujus diocesi multae existunt Ecclesiae Patribus Anglo-Benedictinis addictae, nomine omnium Episcoporum Angliae, dubiorum sequentium solutionem postulet, nimieum :

I. Utrum tanquam ecclesia propria cujusvis Patris Abbatis intelligenda sit sola ecclesia monasterii cui ipse praesit.

II. Utrum cuivis Patri Abbati competat jus pontificalium in omnibus ecclesiis quibus praesint terni, bini vel singuli Patres sub ejus jurisdictione constituti, curam vero animarum exercentes? et quatenus affirmative.

III. Utrum ad usum pontificalium talibus in Ecclesiis sub cura Patrum Benedictinorum constitutis licite exercendum requiratur consensus Episcopi Ordinarii?

IV. Utrum Patres Abbates in ecclesiis aliorum Regularium cujusvis Ordinis vel Congregationis, vel in Ecclesiis Saecularium usu pontificalium sine consensu Episcopi Ordinarii gaudere valeant? et quatenus negative.

V. Utrum in talibus ecclesiis sive Regularium sive Saecularium usu pontificalium de consensu Episcopi Ordinarii gaudere valeant?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, referente subscripto secretario, exquisito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibus accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

- Ad I. *Affirmative* nisi et aliae sint filiales Ecclesiae quibus et ipse praesit seu illius jurisdictioni subjectae.
- Ad II. *Affirmative*, dummodo agatur de Ecclesiis propriis, et detur Decretum n. 2080 *Fesulana* 1 Octobris 1701.
- Ad III. *Negative*, si agatur de Ecclesiis propriis, uti supra.
- Ad IV. Detur Decretum n. 2923 *Ordinis Monachorum Sancti Basilii* 18 Decembris 1846.
- Ad V. Jam provisum in praecedenti.

Atque ita rescripsit diei 13 Junii 1902.

D. CARD. FERRATA, *Praef.*

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodic., *Secr.*

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## Science Notices.

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### **The Recent Volcanic Eruptions in the West Indies.—**

The disastrous eruptions of Mont Pelée in Martinique and La Soufrière in St. Vincent have once more reminded mankind of the instability of the earth's crust, which we so erroneously have described as *terra firma*. They should certainly afford a fresh incentive to seismological research. Though we are powerless to check the progress of the earth-storms which from time to time produce wholesale devastation and loss of life, yet it may with reason be expected that future science will be able to issue warnings of such earth-storms which may be sufficiently reliable to justify the temporary or permanent desertion of a suspected district.

The recent volcanic outbreak did not take place without those warning signs that have before been known to precede great volcanic outbursts. It appears that in Martinique and St. Vincent shocks of earthquake had been felt as far back as February, 1901, and were repeated frequently during the year, but they were not regarded with any apprehension until the February of this year. On April 19th last there occurred the severe earthquake in Guatemala which completely destroyed Quezaltenango, the richest city of the country, with a loss of 500 inhabitants, and laid several other towns in ruins.

On April 23rd came the first sign of the approaching eruption of Mont Pelée, for on that day it first showed a plume of smoke. On May 3rd the mountain was lighted up by the incandescent lava within its crater. On May 4th the surrounding district was covered with ash. On May 5th a shower of mud and lava from the volcano engulfed a sugar factory and buried twenty-three persons, while the sea receded 300 feet. In spite of these warnings, the following day the Government issued a reassuring

report! On May 8th, at 8 a.m., the fiery blast from the volcano destroyed St. Pierre, in which town some 35,000 lives were sacrificed. Professor J. Milne, writing on the subject of the disaster in *Nature*, May 15th, in reference to the preceding of volcanic outbursts by slight earthquakes such as had been experienced in Martinique and St. Vincent for some months before, says: "That volcanic outbursts are usually preceded by slight earthquakes is well known. How very slight these may be is testified by the tall and not too substantial buildings in Naples near the base of the almost continually erupting Vesuvius. Unfortunately, the occurrence of slight earthquakes is very much more frequent without, rather than with, volcanic outbursts. Many of the 1,000 earthquakes which are annually recorded in Japan, two or three of which would shatter all London, are felt round the base of volcanoes, but it is only on rare occasions that they have been followed by disaster. Could science devise a means by which increasing pressure beneath a volcanic area could be measured, or could the crust of the same be rendered transparent until familiarity ended in contempt, such areas would in all likelihood be sparsely populated; but so long as we cannot distinguish between the shakings which announce the abortive attempts of volcanoes to establish an opening, and those tremblings and gurgitations which precede attempts which are successful, people will go on living as before."

In consideration of the relation between earthquakes and volcanoes, Professor Milne, in *Nature*, June 12th, gives a very instructive series of notes concerning the volcanic history of the West Indies, from which it appears that the sequence of events which has taken place since the earthquake in Guatemala is only a repetition of similar sequences which have taken place in the same quarter of the globe during the past 200 years. It is sufficient here to quote one example, that of 1812: "On March 26th of this year Caracus was utterly ruined, and 10,000 of its inhabitants perished. Shocks continued until April 5th. The waters of Lake Maracaybo were lowered, and Mount Silla is said to have lost 300 to 360 feet of its height by subsidence. On April 24th St. Vincent erupted, the noise of which was heard as far as Caraccas. Preceding this eruption in St. Vincent and in the West Indian islands there had been very many shocks. In St. Vincent more than 200 had been noted. Another tremendous earth disturbance took place before this eruption



commenced, on November 16th, 1811, in the valley of the Mississippi, Ohio, and Kansas. The ground was raised or lowered, and about New Madrid shocks occurred almost hourly for months and continued until the date of the Caraccas earthquake."

Professor Milne considers that the Antillean range is one that is extremely susceptible to seismic disturbances originating at a distance, and this condition is suggested by its recent geological history. "According to Dr. J. W. Gregory, when the isthmus of Panama was submerged, it is possible that 'Antillia' existed connecting North and South America, and the Caribbean Sea was then a gulf of the Pacific. In lower or middle miocene times this was submerged, and abyssal oozes were deposited which are now raised in the Barbados to a height of 1,095 feet above sea level. The magnitude of these movements and their rapidity, which has often been referred to by the opponents of the theory of the permanence of continental masses and oceanic basins, indicate that we have in the Antillean ridge a line of weakness characterised by unusual instability; and it is in all probability this instability which renders the Windward Islands so responsive to hypogenic changes in the neighbouring continent."

Concerning the cause of the death of the inhabitants of St. Pierre there have been more than one hypothesis. Professor A. E. Verrill has elaborated an ingenious, but perhaps hardly necessary, theory to account for the suddenness with which most of the victims were deprived of life. He considers that the ejection of explosive gases was one of the causes. The heat was, he suggests, sufficient to cause the dissociation of hydrogen and oxygen from the water coming suddenly into contact with the highly-heated lava; and in the case of sea-water the chlorine would also be dissociated from the sodium. Those gases suddenly ejected with great violence and exploding in the air above the crater would produce precisely the effects witnessed on an unusually large scale at Martinique. According to this theory the people were mostly killed by the sudden explosion of a vast volume of hydrogen and oxygen, which accounts for the sudden burning of flesh and clothes. The chlorine combining with some of hydrogen would produce hydrochloric acid, a poisonous and suffocating gas which would quickly kill most of those that survived the explosion.

But the opinion of Dr. Nicholls, of Dominica, quoted in

*Nature*, June 26th, is a simpler explanation of the destruction of life : " It would appear that a sudden fissure was opened on the side of the mountain overlooking the city, and near to the Etang Sec on the flank of the volcano a large vent belched out lava, superheated steam, and acid gases downwards on to St. Pierre and the roadstead. The flashing off into steam of the water imprisoned in the incandescent lava converted that lava into sand and dust before it reached the city, and the radiation of heat from molten rock at a temperature of about  $1000^{\circ}$  C. caused an incredibly hot blast that would create a red-hot hurricane—if I may employ such a term—that would kill people and animals instantly, and that would cause all inflammable matter to burst into flame."

This view seems to receive confirmation from witnesses who were on board the *Roddam* in the Bay of St. Pierre at the time of the eruption. They state that when the eruption occurred the vessel was shaken so violently by the material ejected that she was nearly capsized, and appeared to be enveloped in a whirlwind of fire, which was, in reality, a highly-heated gas carrying with it immense quantities of white-hot volcanic ash. A possible cause of death is the supposed vacuum which occurred after the return blast, which has support of witnesses who said they could get no air to breathe.

The same hot blast, which to inhale meant death, accompanied the eruption in St. Vincent. The awful suddenness with which death overtook the victims is borne out by the positions in which some of the bodies were found in St. Pierre. Some were discovered in the thresholds of their houses in the attitude of gazing at the volcano. Some were found seated at a table. There was a body of one man discovered in the middle of the street who had the muscles of his legs and arms fixed in the attitude of a runner. Some were even found shaking hands. Though the effects of the outburst in Martinique and St. Vincent were so intense in the area involved, it is satisfactory to learn that the area of devastation has been comparatively small. Estimating the devastated area in Martinique at fifty square miles, there are still more than 300 square miles in that island that are in practically the same condition as they were before the eruption. In St. Vincent there are still 43,000 colonists, and no other islands have been affected.

At the Ladies' Soirée of the Royal Society, in June, Sir William Crookes exhibited specimens of the dust from Mont

*Pelée*. The fragments of the *Mont Pelée* dust are usually of above '007" in diameter, but range between '005" and '01". Minerals and rocks are in about equal quantity: the former consist of Labradorite, augite (bottle green), and a pleochroic (green to brown), hypersthene, the latter rather scoriaceous, a brownish-grey in colour. The *Mont Pelée* dust bore a general resemblance to that from *La Soufrière*. To Dr. Hill, of the United States Geological Survey, belongs the credit of being the first person to approach the area of active volcanism after the destruction of *St. Pierre*. Though he was able to record much interesting information concerning the craters, fissures, and fumaroles, he was unable to approach the crater of *Mont Pelée*. He observed, however, remarkable effects from one explosion of the crater, which he has thus described: "Following the salvos of detonations from the mountain, gigantic mushroom-shaped columns of smoke and cinders ascended into the clear, starlit sky, and then spread in a vast black sheet to the south and directly over my head. Through this sheet, which extended a distance of ten miles from the crater, vivid and awful lightning-like bolts flashed with alarming frequency. They followed distinct paths of ignition, but were different from lightning, in that the bolts were horizontal and not perpendicular. This is indisputable evidence of the explosive oxidation of the gases after they left the crater."

It may be remarked that the observation of these lightning-like bolts seem to give some support to Professor Verrill's theory, that the destruction of life at *St. Pierre* may have been partly due to explosive action.

It was Professor Heilprin who first succeeded in climbing to the top of the crater of *Mont Pelée*. The volcano was very active when he reached the summit, but he was able to look over into it. Amongst his observations was a huge cinder cone in the centre of the crater. The opening of the crater is now a vast crevice 500 feet long and 150 feet wide.

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**After-glows.—Dust Falls.**—Since the eruptions in the West Indies, several after-glows have been observed in various places. Some of these were observed very carefully by Professor A. Herschel at Slough. In Switzerland the after-glow effects appear to have been particularly striking, as if the whole of the West of Switzerland was on fire, and the flames reflected in the

sky. There is as yet no actual proof that these effects have been caused by the presence of the fine volcanic ash ejected from the volcanoes of Martinique and St. Vincent, but it is Professor Herschel's opinion that they are probably due to it. He suggests, in a letter to *Nature*, July 24th, that a confirmation of this view is the fact that the after-glows of the present year are at a much lower altitude than those which were caused by the ejection of dust from Krakatoa in 1883. In the latter case, heights of 70 miles appear to have been found for the strata contaminated with volcanic dust; but in the displays of the present year the extreme height of the glow is estimated at 20 miles. The lower height would be in agreement with the lesser magnitude of the disasters in Martinique and St. Vincent compared with the immensity of the scale of the eruption of Krakatoa.

With reference to the ejection of volcanic dust into the atmosphere, Dr. William S. S. Lockyer has recently pointed out the meteorological importance of falls of volcanic dust as being the only available means of deducing the direction of the air-currents at considerable elevations in the atmosphere, and that the observation of any dust-falls resulting from the volcanic eruptions in the West Indies is therefore a research most worthy of the attention of meteorologists.

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## Notes of Travel and Exploration.

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**Sir Harry Johnstone on the Native Races of Central Africa.**—The second volume of Sir Harry Johnstone's splendidly illustrated work, *The Uganda Protectorate* (Hutchinson and Co. 1902), is an exhaustive treatise on the anthropology of Central Africa. The chapter on the dwarfs of the Congo and Semliki Forests adds much new detail to our knowledge of these little creatures. The average height of the men measured by him was 4ft. 9in., and that of the women three inches less, but there was considerable variation from this mean in both directions. He sees in them the possible survivors of a primitive race akin to one widely diffused over Europe, and suggests that they may have been the prototypes of the kobolds, elves, gnomes, and fairies of popular belief. Despite their low physical type and deficiency in the most rudimentary arts of life, they are by no means wanting in intelligence. The people of Uganda, the most promising and progressive in Africa, are regarded by the author as threatened with extinction. Reduced by war and massacre from their original number of four millions to a fourth of that figure, they are so far from prolific that a woman who has had more than one child is considered a rarity. If they are to be saved it can only be, in his opinion, by the teaching of the missionaries, both Roman and Anglican. The whole of Uganda is now Christian, with the exception of about a twentieth of the population representing the Mussulman element. Paganism, as an openly avowed belief, is extinct, although some of its practices may linger in outlying places.

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**Native Maladies.**—The recently-introduced sleeping sickness is one of the most dreaded foes to life. It is invariably fatal, though the patient may linger as long as three years in a state of gradually increasing somnolence. The most recent theory as

to its cause is that it originates from drinking a liquor made from fermented rice in a partially decomposed state. The dreaded pellagra, prevalent among the Lombard peasantry, which resembles it in some respects, is similarly attributed to the consumption of mouldy maize. No European has, as yet, been attacked by narcolepsy or sleeping sickness. No one can read Sir Harry Johnstone's book without being impressed with the beneficent results of British rule, even despite occasional mistakes and errors of judgment. The people of Unyoro, for instance, decimated by the ferocious tyrant Kabarega, who depopulated whole districts for the merest whim, are slowly recovering from the ravages of famine, massacre, and the strange and fatal diseases developed by the state of misery in which they lived. Among these are a malady which kills the skin and withers the nerves and muscles, and a form of leprosy so contagious that it may be contracted by breathing the same air as the patient, or following on his track through the grass. Among the races diminishing in number are the war-like Masai, who, as a pastoral people, suffered severely from the successive outbreaks of cattle plague in East Africa. Small-pox, too, carries them off in thousands, and having been instructed in the virtue of inoculation, they spontaneously practised it as a prophylactic. On the introduction of vaccination by the European doctors they availed themselves of it almost universally, and the ravages of the epidemic have been stayed. There are no conscientious objectors in Masailand, and Sir Harry Johnstone believes that only the advent of the white man has saved the race from extinction. Among the revolting practices of the Masai and other kindred tribes is that of drinking the blood of cows hot from the animal's veins, which are opened to furnish the unnatural draught. The British sphere contains the tallest, as well as the smallest, of mankind, for the Turkana, living to the east of Lake Rudolf, are a veritable race of giants. The late Captain Wellby considered that the men of one district averaged seven feet in height, but Sir Harry Johnstone believes that the tallest specimen seen by him did not exceed 6ft. 6in.

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**Antarctic Zoology.**—The trustees of the British Museum have recently published a volume (*Report on the Collections of Natural History made in the Antarctic Regions during the voyage of the "Southern Cross."* London: Longmans and Co. 1902)

describing the specimens brought home by the expedition to the South Poplar Regions. The latter are, as far as was ascertained, absolutely devoid of terrestrial mammals, not even a rat or mouse inhabiting its bleak shores. Whales and seals are the only representatives of this division of the animal kingdom, the latter alone visiting the land. The elephant seal, hunted almost to extinction, was not met, but four other already-known species, two of them very rare, are represented in the collections brought home. The white seal has been described by Mr. Bruce, who saw many of them nine years ago, as usually sluggish creatures, though with the power of making great leaps, eight or ten feet in height, and twenty in length, out of the water. All the specimens were obtained from the pack-ice on which they lie all day. Those of the present generation had never seen man, and were quite insensible to fear of his approach, so that they could barely rouse out of their lazy sleep when poked in the ribs with a muzzle of a gun, only to receive a bullet in the head as a greeting from the strange visitant. The scars with which they are frequently found marked have been differently accounted for by naturalists. Some ascribe them to battles between the males, but females also bear them, and they are sometimes met freshly wounded hundreds of miles from land on which their encounters take place. Hence the probability that they are the result of attack by some marine animal from which they may seek immunity on the ice-pack, their favourite haunt. As the long scars on the hair-seals of the North Atlantic are believed to be caused by the bites of sharks, those visible on the Antarctic species may be due to the same enemy. The apathy of the northern fur seal in presence of its dire foe, the killer, renders it an easy prey, and a similar disposition is shown in the indifference of the Antarctic seals to the approach of man. Among Antarctic birds, the first place is held by penguins, of which two species abound at Cape Adare, one, the Emperor Penguin, over four feet high, and of solitary habits, the other, the Adelia Penguin, so gregarious that it nests actually cover the ground. For fourteen days they continued to arrive in a continuous stream, visible for two miles northward from the summit of the promontory. Their resemblance to human beings, as they stand erect in troops, gives them an irresistibly comical appearance, and the duels of the cock birds are fought with beak and flippers in the same attitude. They, too, were fearless of man, though evidently curious as to his



aspect, which deputations of them approached quite close to investigate. The penguins have daring and active enemies in the skuas, who are always on the look-out to carry off an egg or a young bird, and are so bold that they will attack a man in defence of their nests, as a member of the *Belgica* expedition found when climbing a cliff near one in search of a botanical specimen. Another characteristic bird is the petrel, the female of which, when sitting on her single egg, has the power of ejecting a reddish fluid, with a most objectionable fishy odour, to a considerable distance, as a means of defence against an intruder.

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**Report on the Volcanic Eruptions in the West Indies.—**

The report to the Royal Society by Dr. Tempest Anderson and Dr. John S. Flett, not only gives a detailed account of the eruption of the Soufrière in St. Vincent, but includes a visit to Mont Pelée in Martinique, and a description of a second eruption of that mountain, actually witnessed by them. The first phases of the activity of the Soufrière were like those of ordinary volcanic outbursts, consisting of discharges of volumes of steam, stones, ashes, and projectiles, accompanied by a sudden rush of boiling water down the river beds, probably from the overflow or bursting of a crater-lake. But these symptoms were followed by the hot blast of incandescent sand or dust, similar to that which destroyed St. Pierre. The crew of a boat overtaken by it only saved themselves by diving into the sea, which hissed under the red-hot shower. When they came to the surface the air was suffocating, but they continued to dive, until, when nearly asphyxiated, the air cleared, and they could breathe again. One man who was too exhausted to continue diving clung to the gunwale of the boat, and had the tops of his ears scorched. The hot blast was accompanied by thick darkness, by terrific detonations and bellowings from the volcano, and by continuous trembling of the ground. The ascent of the mountain by the investigators showed that the structural changes effected by the eruption were astonishingly small. The eruption of the Mont Pelée witnessed by them was in some respects a counterpart of that which destroyed St. Pierre. It was preluded by discharges of steam, and by the appearance of a cloud, which, instead of ascending, rolled along the surface of the ground. Then came a slowly increasing

illumination, and what seemed a red-hot avalanche pouring rapidly down the mountain-side with incredible velocity. This, again, transformed itself into a cloud, dense, black and solid, rushing forward in globular masses and scintillating with innumerable flashes of lightning. As it parted with its solid matter it became lighter in colour, and began to ascend, passing over the sea in a cloud of steam, letting fall some ashes and projectiles on the boat. This avalanche of incandescent matter, with the black cloud accompanying it, has been the principal feature of these eruptions. It follows the clearing of the throat of the volcano by the blowing off of steam and obstructions, and is described as lava, blown to pieces by the gases it contains. The mixture of dust and gas behaves in many ways like a fluid rushing down the slopes of the hills and carrying with it a terrific hot blast.

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**The Railway to Mecca.**—The progress of the railway from Damascus to Mecca, officially styled the Hedjaz line, is reported on by the consuls in Damascus and Beirut. The total distance is 1,100 miles, and the probable cost would be about £5,000,000, according to the most favourable estimate, while others put it at double that figure. Considering that no more than two years have elapsed since the enterprise was first proposed, and in view of the generally inefficient character of the administration, the work done is not inconsiderable. By the end of last year forty-one miles of earthworks had been constructed, including such subsidiary works as small bridges, watercourses, etc., some twenty-four miles of the line were completed, and the rails were actually laid on one section. A further length of fifty-three miles had been surveyed and staked out, and a preliminary survey made of twenty-eight miles more. It is hoped that by August 29th, the anniversary of the Sultan's accession, a length of one hundred and twenty-five miles from Damascus, or sixty-two from Mezarib, the terminus of the existing Hauran railway, will be finished. The works are under the direction of a German engineer, and most of the material has been furnished by Belgium. Part of the work is done by Imperial troops, who were first slow and incapable, but who, under the stimulus of payment by the piece instead of by the day, have improved so as to be on a level with the average foreign workmen. The funds are being raised by subscription, nominally voluntary among

Moslems, and about £400,000 has been promised, although of this no more than three-fourths has been actually collected.

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**Mining Concessions in Korea.**—The principal mining enterprise in Korea is that of an American company, or amalgamation of companies, who have a concession at Wonsan, in which a large capital is invested. Over four thousand Korean labourers are employed, in addition to Chinese, Japanese, and one hundred other foreigners. Four mills are at work, two of twenty, and two of forty stamps, while one of eighty stamps is in course of construction. The property of eight hundred square miles is within a few miles of a deep water approach, which much facilitates operations. Gold, to the value of £150,000, was exported last year. On the German concession at Tangokae, placer mining is being carried on, but under disadvantages owing to the necessity of suspending work during the winter, and the want of water for sluicing during the spring. It appears that the Korean gold deposits are, as a rule, irregular and discontinuous, which less inconveniences the native miner, with his easily portable belongings, than the foreigner encumbered with European machinery and an expensive staff.

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## Notices of Books.

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**Practical Preaching for Priests and People.** By Father CLEMENT HOLLAND. London: Baker, Soho Square. 8vo, pp. 325. 4s. 6d.

THIS work does not call for a lengthened review. Its contents are fairly set forth in the title. It contains twenty-five "practical" and well-written discourses on subjects which the Catholic preacher has frequently occasion to treat of in the pulpit. But the range is limited, and Father Holland's work will not supply the place of such well-known compilations as Abbot Sweeny's volume, which furnishes us with a sermon for every Sunday and Feast-day of the ecclesiastical year. A useful synopsis is prefixed to each sermon. Father Holland's style is clear, terse, and vigorous, and free from exaggeration or straining after effect; although exception might be taken perhaps, by those who are critically disposed, to one or two passages here and there. For example, in the sermon on "Mortal Sin," we read: "Truly, Judas was a noble being compared to the mortal sinner." This is rather a slipshod statement, and the comparison is not to the point, seeing that Judas himself was a mortal sinner, and, we are afraid, a rather serious one to boot.

N.

### **Meditations on the Great Mysteries of the Incarnation.**

By St. ALPHONSUS DI LIGUORI. New Edition. Translated from the Italian by Rev. EDMUND VAUGHAN, C.S.S.R. *Permissu Superiorum.* London: Burns and Oates. 1901. Pp. 159.

THESE meditations, though useful at any time throughout the year, are especially so during the holy seasons of Advent and Christmas. They are short, covering on an average only two pages and a-half each. Sixty-six in number,

they are divided into two sets, one of which comprises forty-four, the other twenty-two meditations.

Our sainted author, in his masterly way, gives us beautiful and effective illustrations of the subject matter he deals with. Thus, for instance, speaking (p. 13) on the humility of Jesus, he alludes to St. Alexis, whose life of marvellous humility is so well known to all of us. He compares with the saint's humble life that of our Lord Jesus, and, drawing out the comparison, drives home to the reader the fact that our Lord's humility was immeasurably greater than that of St. Alexis.

Meditating (p. 89) on "Jesus Weeping," St. Alphonsus tells us that our Saviour shed tears out of compassion and love for us. "Tears are a sign of love," he says. "Therefore did the Jews say, when they saw the Saviour weeping for the death of Lazarus, 'Behold how He loved him.' Thus also might the angels have said, on beholding the tears of the infant Jesus: 'Behold how He loves them! Behold how our God loves men, since for love of them we see Him made man, become an infant, and weeping.'"

A more detailed list of contents, showing the subject-matter of each meditation, would have greatly added to the value of the book.

J. T.

**Christ the Man-God, our Redeemer.** By J. F. X. O'CONOR, S.J. 1901. Pp. 87. Published by B. Herder, 17, South Broadway, St. Louis, Mo.

THE author's motive for writing this book is clear from the motto with which he sets out, and which he so frequently repeats throughout the work: "This is eternal life, to know God and Him Whom He has sent, Jesus Christ." The truths which he expounds are old, but are they not also ever new? Do they not always shine out with a new and brighter light every time they proceed from another human intellect that has studied them, and has stamped its own individuality at least on the conception and expression of them. He does a great work for God who, possessing the requisite knowledge and power, gives to the world the fruits of his meditations and studies about God and the truths of God. The author has adopted a vigorous style throughout. He has enriched it with simple yet strong illustrations. He has interwoven with his own exposition numerous passages of Sacred Scripture and the

writings of eminent men—in a word, he has written a book that will carry conviction to the mind of every honest reader.

The volume is divided into five chapters, or rather essays—"Christ in Prophecy," "Christ in History," "Christ the Man-God," "Christ in the Modern World," "Christ in the Christian Soul."

The English reader will be slightly shocked at the writer's spelling. On page 72 "behave" is spelt "behoove"; "fascination" is spelt "facination" on page 71. On page 20 the author gives a disjunctive syllogism which is, to say the least, crudely expressed. It runs: "Either He did not come or this prophecy was not fulfilled, or He came long ago. But this was a true and absolute prophecy, therefore He has come." It would read better: "Either He did not come, *i.e.*, this prophecy was not fulfilled, or He came long ago. But the prophecy must have been fulfilled, for it was true and absolute. Therefore He has come." On page 21 a double negative has crept into the text and ruined the sense of the passage: "So that no one of the sculptors could not be directed," etc. The context requires that the second negation be eliminated.

On page 26, in the paragraph beginning "To the Jewish people," a momentary confusion is caused by the misplacement of a comma. The context makes the meaning clear.

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E. G.

**Accessus ad Altare et Recessus:** Preces ante et post celebrationem Missae. Editio quarta. Pp. 194. Sumptibus Herder, Friburgi-Brisgoviae.

**B**ESIDES the ordinary prayers before and after Mass given in the Missal and the Roman Breviary, this little manual contains a number of excellent supplementary prayers, which are arranged so as to provide a variety for preparation and thanksgiving for every day of the week. For preparation, on each day there is a prayer addressed to each of the three Divine Persons of the Blessed Trinity, one to Our Lady and the Saints, a prayer for the application of the fruits of the Mass, and one for the mementos. For thanksgiving, on each day short and appropriate acts are suggested.

Useful admonitions taken from decrees of Councils and from other authentic sources are placed at the beginning of each day's prayers, bidding the priest strive to realise the sublime character of the act which he is about to perform.

Litanies of the Holy Name and of the Blessed Virgin, devotions to the Sacred Heart with the authentic litanies, devotions to the Holy Spirit, indulgenced prayers, the *Te Deum*, and prayers prescribed by our Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII., to be said after Mass, are gathered together at the end of this useful compendium.

On page 169 the rubric given is, according to the latest regulation, incorrect. The rubric has reference to the hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus." After the last verse we read: "Loco hujus ultimae strophæ tempore paschali dicitur sequens." Then follows the ending for paschal time. The ending for paschal time now prevails throughout the year in this hymn. The print is excellent.

E. G.

**The Retreat Manual.** By Madame CECILIA, Religious of St. Andrew's Convent, Streatham. London: Burns & Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. 208.

THE authoress of the *Retreat Manual* is a member of a religious community which devotes itself to the education of girls. A member of an institution of this kind will naturally feel a great interest in her charges, even when their school days are over. Madame Cecilia has manifested this interest in a very practical fashion by composing this little book, which is chiefly intended for women, and more particularly for young women. So far as we are able to judge, the *Retreat Manual* is likely to prove of great service to those for whom it was written. It makes the days of retreat as bright and cheery as possible, without in any way infringing their usefulness. What our authoress writes on "Recreation during Retreat" will certainly commend itself to youthful retreatants: "Sometimes the priest who gives the retreat prefers that absolute silence should be kept, especially if the retreat only lasts for two or three days. Others, on the contrary, insist on the retreatants taking a recreation. Often the silence is optional, and then each can do what he feels to be the best. As regards those in their teens (especially girls), it is often thought preferable that they should 'disband the arc' during the recreation; a good walk, a game of tennis or croquet will relax the tension of the morning, and enable them to return to the exercises of the retreat with renewed ardour. For those who are older some manual exercise



is recommended, or a quiet walk while reading some edifying biography or life of a saint. Or we can spend the time profitably in admiring God's works in nature. The object of the recreation is to afford a real rest to the mind. Some find this in sleep; others prefer a quiet conversation, which will naturally turn on the topics treated by the preacher" (pp. 40, 41).

X.

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**Souls Departed : being a Defence and Declaration of the Catholic Church's Doctrine touching Purgatory and Prayers for the Dead.** By Cardinal ALLEN. First published in 1565, and edited in modern spelling by the late Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R. Second edition. London : Burns and Oates, Ltd. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Bros. 8vo, pp. 402.

SEVERAL defences of Catholic doctrine were composed by Catholic exiles during the early years of Queen Elizabeth's reign in reply to Jewel's "Challenge and Apology." Amongst them was the treatise which now lies before us, the first published work of the future Cardinal Allen, the father, under God, of the Catholic Church in England after the destruction of the Catholic hierarchy by Queen Elizabeth. That this treatise created a great sensation at the time of its first appearance is made clear by the fact that when, two years after its publication, warrants of arrest against certain "late ministers in the Church" were issued by order of the queen, the first name on the list was that of "Alen, who wrote the late booke of Purgatory." The treatise was indeed well deserving of the importance attached to it, by both Catholics and heretics. It is, as its editor truly says, full of erudition, well arranged, and written with great spirit. In Father Bridgett's edition the spelling has been modernised, and, so far as this could be effected without any change in construction, the sentences, when unduly long, have been broken up. But otherwise the treatise appears as it left its author's hands.

X.

**Choiseul et Voltaire ;** d'après les lettres inédites du Duc de Choiseul à Voltaire. Par PIERRE CALMETTES. Paris : Plon-Nourrit et Cie.

THE desire to know the intimate thoughts and doings of notable men, which is characteristic of the modern mind, is not due in the main to vulgar curiosity, but is rather a part of the general movement in the direction of greater scientific accuracy and reality, which, in history and biography, seeks to trace the modifying influences of character and motives upon the course of events. And it is obvious that from this point of view the casual and unpremeditated utterances of the chief actors are of far greater value than those which have been said or written with a view to subsequent publication. The present volume is a most valuable contribution to this class of literature. Interesting under any circumstances would be the private correspondence between such men as Voltaire, the Duc de Choiseul, and Frederic II. of Prussia. Whether it is altogether fair to the memories of the deceased to publish their unguarded utterances is another matter. Certainly, if this could be done in the case of all great men, it would probably modify surprisingly the estimation in which some of them had been previously held.

This collection of letters—which has not, in its present complete form, before been published—is of unusual interest from a literary and personal standpoint, as well as from the numerous sidelights which it throws on the history of the period that it covers. But it cannot be said that it shows the writers in an altogether amiable light. It emphasises strongly the deplorable weaknesses and pettiness of Voltaire's character ; his extreme sensitiveness to adverse criticism and personal attacks which had no foundation. Choiseul seems to have been similarly afflicted, if we may judge by the persistence with which in several letters he repeats a request to Voltaire to extract from Frederic what the latter meant by a somewhat enigmatic but uncomplimentary reference to the duke in the course of a letter addressed to the Marquis d'Argens, and which had come by chance into the hands of Choiseul. Of this incident the editor remarks :—" If his vanity suffered because he was referred to as inconsistent and scatter-brained, it must be allowed that in the very letter in which he complains of these epithets, he shows himself so frivolous that he seems really to justify them" (p. 122). It is made evident in the course of these letters that the severe

losses of France in the Seven Years' War were due very largely to the incapacity of her Foreign Minister, an incapacity which was owing not so much to want of ability as to a constitutional indolence and self-indulgence, which for many years he made no effort to overcome. In his earlier letters he several times declares his distaste for business and his love of pleasure, which he enjoys, says he, like a youth of twenty. He puts the charms of his mistresses before anything else in the world, and in one passage he uses, in this connection, an expression of unpardonable coarseness. One of the most interesting features of these letters is the kind of informal correspondence on the subject of peace and other matters which took place between Frederic and Choiseul, Voltaire acting as intermediary, the letters of both parties being addressed to him with apparently a kind of tacit understanding that each should be made acquainted with the others sentiments. At all events, whether such an understanding existed or not, Voltaire made free to do this in the case of both, while writing to each as if he were the sole recipient of the confidence. On one occasion, when something Choiseul had written privately to Voltaire went the round of the courts of Europe and caused him some inconvenience, he made a protest against this breach of confidence, but soon afterwards we find him writing to Voltaire with as great *empressement* and familiarity as ever. His letters almost invariably begin with: "Ma chère Marmotte," or some equally unconventional term, and end with the eternal formula, of which the reader becomes very tired: "Adieu. Je vous aime et vous embrasse de tout mon cœur."

Whatever the duke or Frederic may have thought of Voltaire's petty treasons, the philosopher himself affected to think that he was acting on an understanding, and that he was no more, in fact, than a *bureau d'adresse*. Such was the strange nature of the correspondence between these three well-known characters.

Voltaire's pacificatory efforts led to no result. The French Court, as is well known, lived in a complete fool's paradise both as regards foreign and home affairs, and Choiseul shared in this blind and fatal optimism. A single instance from these letters will suffice. He says in a letter dated 25th May, 1760: "Les Anglais ne garderont pas le Canada. Je vous demande en grâce de ne pas juger la pièce avant d'avoir vu le dénouement; peut-être ne sommes nous qu'au troisième acte. La catastrophe

a été facheuse, mais je vous prépare un 5me acte, où la vertu sera recompensée," &c.

It is impossible to say whether Choiseul believed this himself. But at least he knew that France was unable to send aid, and relied solely on Canadian loyalty and valour. Later on, when the long war, so disastrous to France, was nearing its close, Choiseul burst out into unwonted activity: he took on himself the office of Minister of War in addition to that of Foreign Affairs, and a little later that of First Lord of the Admiralty. But this was no more than the proverbial shutting the door after the steed is stolen, and came too late to save France from a dishonourable peace.

It had, however, a considerable effect on the correspondence collected in this volume. As the editor remarks: "The pressure of business, so burdensome after his past negligence, left him no time to write to his dear Marmotte any but short letters, unless a subject particularly interesting gave a motive for longer." Here, then, we come to a new period in the correspondence, marked in this book by the commencement of a second part, in which the duke's letters become rarer. But Voltaire had no intention of losing a correspondent who had such a powerful influence in high circles, and whose favours, as these letters testify, he had so frequently and successfully sought. So, after a period of silence, he writes again to the great man, and the correspondence is renewed for a time, though the duke's letters are those of an older and busier man, and no longer possess that sparkle and gay insouciance which so frequently characterised the earlier. With the duke's banishment and degradation the correspondence ceases. Voltaire made no effort to renew it when it could no longer bring him any advantage.

H. C. C.

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**The Agape and the Eucharist in the Early Church.** By J. F. KEATING, D.D. London: Methuen.

THIS volume is a Cambridge doctorate dissertation. It deals with a subject as fascinating as it is obscure—the history of the common meal spoken of by St. Paul as having been connected in primitive times with the celebration of the Eucharist. The investigation leads to no doctrinal results, but anything connected with early Eucharistic ritual must needs be

of interest; and even though the evidence, when marshalled, does not issue in any very definite conclusions, still it is an advantage to have it all brought together in two hundred pages and sorted out and submitted to a careful discussion. The heathen and Jewish analogues of a religious common meal, the New Testament evidence, and that of the writers of the first four centuries, are taken in order, and a special chapter is devoted to the relevant portions of the various documents comprised in the cycle of Apostolic Constitution literature—the comparison of these documents, some of which have been but quite recently discovered, is perhaps the portion of the book that can best claim to be a contribution to the history of the Agape. In spite of St. Paul's evidence in the Epistle to the Corinthians, Dr. Keating inclines to the view that the common meal was not an absolutely primitive feature of the Eucharistic celebration, though added at the very earliest date. The chief problem is the subsequent separation of the Agape from the Eucharist; this separation, the author seems to hold, came about gradually during the course of the second and third centuries. The discussion of this point gives rise to an interesting examination of the relations of the Church to the Roman Government. When the separation had been effected, the Agape became a charitable banquet provided in church on the feast-days of the martyrs and the commemorations of the dead. But abuses arose, and in the course of the fifth century the celebrations of agapes were gradually extinguished throughout Christendom. The author has probably brought together most that can be culled from existing materials, but he has overlooked a curious passage in the *Lausiac History*. The book is a good specimen of historical method.

E. C. B.

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**Biblische Studien**, herausgegeben von Dr. BARDENHEWER.  
Freiburg-im-Breisgau : Herder.

VI., 3 und 4 Heft : *Die Griechischen Danielzusätze*.  
Von Dr. CASPAR JULIUS. 1901.

VI., 5 Heft : *Die Eschatologie des Buches Job*. Von  
Dr. JAKOB ROYER. 1901.

**Die eucharistische Opfer nach der Lehre der älteren  
Scholastik**. Von Dr. WILHELM GÖTZMANN. Herder.  
1901.

THE first of these studies deals with the three great additions to the Book of Daniel—Susannah, the Prayer of the Young Men, and Bel and the Dragon. Dr. Julius lays down definitely that they do not belong to the original Hebrew-Aramaic Daniel, but are Greek additions ; and he then proceeds to collect the evidence as to their employment as Holy Scripture in the Church. He brings forward some pre-Christian evidence ; but the first certain case appears to be in the Epistle of Clement of Rome. The chapter on ante-Nicene evidence is valuable ; but after it the interest wanes, and at length reaches a vanishing point when the Middle Ages are reached. The book bespeaks considerable industry and wide reading both in the original authorities and in recent writings ; and it forms a useful contribution to one of the by-paths in the history of the Canon.

Royer's Eschatology of the Book of Job bespeaks a like industry and familiarity with the modern literature of the subject, while it is perhaps of a wider and more living interest. Half the volume is taken up with the necessary preliminary discussions, including an attempt to fix the date at which Job was written—the author concludes in favour of the view that it was written in the kingdom of Judah, about 600 B.C. He thinks that the prologue and epilogue do not belong organically to the poem ; but he does not notice the theory recently put forward that they are the remains of an archaic form of the poem, the body of which was cut out to make room for the present one. On the precise point of the Eschatology a great deal has been written. Does the book contain the idea of the resurrection of the body ? or even of personal immortality ? Into Royer's discussion of these and kindred questions it is impossible to enter here ; but it is an encouragement to us all to see that a parish priest has found it possible to produce a book implying so much serious study.

The third work named, Dr. Götzmann's, on the earlier scholastic teaching concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice, naturally does not belong to the *Biblische Studien*, but forms one of a number of independent booklets on points of historical theology published by Herder, and is a good specimen of a kind of theological study that is much needed. The current teaching on the Eucharistic Sacrifice found in the theological manuals in common use, is for the most part based on the theories elaborated by the post-Tridentine theologians. Götzmann has turned to the pre-Tridentine theologians, the great scholastic doctors, and has come to the conclusion that there is a difference of teaching discernible between the writers of the two periods. The most considerable chapter of his book is devoted to bringing out the differences of attitude between Peter Lombard, Albert the Great, St. Thomas, Alexander Hales, St. Bonaventure, on the one hand, and the great Jesuit theologians, Vasquez, Suarez, Lugo, on the other. Of course, the questions at stake are concerned only with theological speculation and theory : that the Eucharist is a true sacrifice all are agreed. But studies such as this are of use as emphasising the distinction between such speculations, which change from age to age, and Catholic belief. The author has made good the claim in the preface to have filled up a gap in the history of dogma.

E. C. B.

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**Greek Thinkers: a History of Ancient Philosophy.** By THEODOR GOMPERZ, Professor at the University of Vienna. Authorised Edition. Translated by LAURIE MAGNUS, M.A. Vol. I., pp. 610. London : Murray. 14s.

OF all history, that part is the most interesting which traces the gradual development of man, not as a builder of nations or founder of cities, not as a warrior or diplomat, but as a thinking and reasoning being : and there are few periods in the annals of the human race which can offer to the student such wealth of progress and mental evolution as that in which the originators and teachers of Greek Philosophy flourished. The far-off beginnings of deductive and constructive thought, seen in the misty half-light of the early ages of the history of reason, possess a charm which is lacking in the records of more modern developments ; and the very paucity of detail which has come down to us evokes an overwhelming desire to reconstruct,



as far as is possible, each step which leads from the teaching and beliefs underlying the metaphors of the poets to the deep and firm convictions of Plato and the calm authoritative arguments of Aristotle. The great influence of this dawn of thought, the effects which its early progress have had upon the whole thinking world, at once point to it as a fruitful field for work, and as a period not the least interesting in the epochs of the world.

As a rule, however, a history that professes to treat of such a subject fails in one of two ways. Either literary grace is sacrificed to the Juggernaut of bare facts ; or a flowing style and interesting reading is procured at the expense of truth. Professor Theodor Gomperz presents to us a work with all the qualities which a history should possess—erudition, accuracy, and order. The philosophers stand forth from his pages, not as separated intellects, but living flesh and blood, exquisitely drawn to life with a freshness and vigour which leaves little to be desired. We see them as they were—a Thales using his knowledge to advantage : now in the market-place borrowing, buying, begging the use of oil-presses that he might make a good thing out of the plentiful olive crop which he foresaw ; now in the harbour teaching the sailors the signs by which they should steer their ships ; an exiled Xenophon wandering in his minstrel's dress over the mountains of Calabria, and inculcating his new doctrines with his songs, his scorn in the measures of his epic poems ; a pompous sophist, arguing for the love of arguing, haranguing his open-mouthed disciples, with no lack of self-satisfaction, upon all things in heaven above and in the earth beneath and in the water under the earth—these are all made personal to us, and that without sacrificing their dignity or placing them in an unreal environment. Occasionally we reject the conclusions, more often suggested than drawn from the historic facts which the author tabulates. But in this we only exercise that judgment which any reader of history regards as peculiarly his own.

We cannot, for example, ignoring the primitive revelation of God to man, trace the origin and source of Greek religion to the natural causes which Professor Gomperz outlines in his introduction. We are contented to see a relic—many relics—of a divine illumination, distorted, if you will, by overmuch transmission (when there was no authoritative guardian to protect and preserve them in their entirety) in all the religions of the

ancient and modern heathen world: and we think that such an explanation of debased religions is a more acceptable one than that they had their birth individually in isolated observation, not free from hallucination, the concept of cause and effect, and, not least amongst other things, the idea of the passage of the soul from the living body at the moment of death. That some sort of a religion can be deduced from natural knowledge we could hardly venture to deny; but we prefer to avail ourselves of the philosophic hypothesis of a primitive revelation, and to attribute to it much, in the Greek as well as in all other religions, that seems to be a common factor of all belief.

Still, we do not find fault with Professor Gomperz. He has a right to leave unnoticed the assertion of an original revelation. It is a historical rather than a philosophical question, and a history of Greek thought is not bound to consider it.

The plan of vol. i. (two others are to follow) embraces (1) "The Beginnings"—from Thales of Miletus to the Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines; (2) "From Metaphysics to Positive Science"—beginning with Xenophanes of Elea and ending with Herodotus; and (3) "The Age of Enlightenment"—dealing with the physicians, abomists, and sophists.

Mr. Laurie Magnus gives this work to the English public—and it is a book calculated to interest and engross others than students of philosophy—in an English dress. His modest hope that he has "not been entirely unsuccessful in conveying in the English language something of the brilliance and charm of style which the author's German readers recognise and admire in his own," ought to have been by this time amply repaid by the reception which it undoubtedly merits at the hands of English readers. We can strongly recommend this really useful and interesting book; and only hope that the two succeeding volumes, which will deal with what to us appear more fascinating personalities, will be as fortunate as this has been in falling into the hands of so competent a translator.

F. A.

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**Bernhardi I., Abbatiss Cassinensis, Speculum Monachorum.**

Denuo edidit P. HILARIUS WALTER, O.S.B., Congr. Beuron.  
 Friburgi - Brisgoviae : Herder. 8vo, pp. xxviii.-250.  
 3 marks.

**I**N two articles which appeared in the *Studien und Mitteilungen* of 1900 and 1901, and have been printed in Latin as the prolegomena to this new edition, Dom Hilary Walter has made us acquainted with the biography and literary works of this learned Abbot of Monte Cassino. Bernard I. was one of the most famous abbots of the "Archicœnobium," and certainly the most important one in the thirteenth century. He belonged to the noble family of Ayglerius, of Lyons, and following the example of his elder brother, who embraced the monastic state in the Benedictine Abbey of Aisny, and who was later on made Archbishop of Naples by Pope Clement IV. (1265-68), Bernard became a monk at Savignac, and filled for some years the office of sacristan in that monastery. Pope Alexander IV. (1254-61) appointed him his chaplain, and in 1256 Bernard succeeded to the abbatial chair of the well-known Abbey of St. Honoratus at Lerins. Urban IV. (1261-64) appointed him Abbot of Monte Cassino in 1263; but it was only after three years that he was able to take possession of his monastery, for Manfred had already intruded one Theodin as head of that monastic family. As soon as Bernard gained possession of his monastery he set to work to reform it. His influence soon made itself felt outside the walls of the cloister. Urban IV. and Gregory X., as well as Charles I. of Anjou, employed him as their legate for carrying out some affairs of high importance; among his best friends he counted St. Thomas Aquinas.

Charles I. sent him as ambassador to King Stephen of Hungary in 1269, to arrange a marriage between his son and that king's daughter, Mary; and in 1272 he sent him to Rome to assist at the coronation of Gregory X. In 1274-75 both Gregory X. and Charles I. of Anjou sent the learned Abbot of Monte Cassino to Constantinople to negotiate peace with the Greek Emperor, Michel Palæologus. Charles I. of Anjou, Philip, titular Emperor of Constantinople, and, lastly, Gregory X. appointed him to receive the legates whom the Greek Emperor sent on the occasion of the General Council of Lyons in 1274. Whether Bernard I. was created Cardinal or not is still a much-discussed question: it is denied by both Dom Caplet and Dom

Walter ; those who favour the opinion differ as to whether he was created by Urban IV. or Clement IV.

In 1275 Bernard withdrew from public affairs to devote the rest of his days to the spiritual development of his monastery, and it was after this time that he wrote both his *Commentary on the Holy Rule* and the *Speculum Monachorum*. The first was published in 1894 by Dom Anselmo Caplet, O.S.B., of Monte Cassino ; and the latter is now before us. Bernard himself died on April 4th, 1282.

The subject of which this little volume, *Speculum Monachorum*, treats is expressed in the words of the full title, which, however, seems to have been added later on : *Speculum Monachorum, seu quaestio de his, ad quae in professione obligatur Monachus et quae sint in regula, quae habeant vim praecepti, quae mandati, et quae consilii*. The work, however, is not an original one, for Bernard himself says : "Profiteor non mihi attribui debere si aliquod ad legentis in hoc opusculo aedificationem ministerium est digestum." The idea, form, and sometimes the very words, are borrowed from a certain Gulielmus de Petra Alta—Guillaume Perault, O.P. (1219—1274-75), Archbishop, or auxiliary Bishop, of Lyons (?).

The whole treatise is divided into three parts. In the first ten chapters Bernard speaks about profession in general, and then, *in specie*, about the three vows taken in the Order of St. Benedict (*i.e.*, *Stabilitas, Conversio Morum, Obedientia*), and the definition, aids, and obstacles to each vow. In the second part, which has only two chapters, he rebukes the "temere profitentes et male in monasteriis viventes." The third part is devoted to the office of the abbot ; negligent monks are aroused by the warnings of Holy Scripture, and the study and reading of the inspired books are strongly recommended.

That this new edition is a critical one the reader may gather from the footnotes, as well as from the preface. P. Hilarius states that thirty-three different MSS. have been carefully examined as well as other ancient printed editions ; and if anyone desires a complete analysis of its contents, he will find it in the *Appendix Analyticus*. Three other important appendices have also been added. Thus, passages quoted from the Holy Scriptures may be found in Appendix I., the different authors quoted in Appendix II., and a carefully-arranged *index rerum et verborum* in Appendix III.

We fully endorse the words expressed in the preface : "Qui-

cunque hoc opusculum lectitaverit, tot scitu digna, quae mentem instruere ac cor ad superna elevare possunt, inveniet."

D. M. S.

**Les Martyrs** (Recueil de pièces authentiques sur les martyrs depuis les origines du christianisme jusqu'au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, traduites et publiées par le R. P. Dom H. LECLERCQ, O.S.B., de St. Mich. de Farnborough). Tom. I. Les Temps Néroniens et le deuxième siècle. Paris : Oudin. 1902. 8vo, pp. cxi.-229.

THE well-known author of the *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, Dom H. Leclercq, O.S.B., of the Solesmes Congregation, has just brought out the first volume of a series, wherein he intends to bring before the public the "heroes of faith" and the "models of charity" who have followed their Divine Master on the road to Calvary, "from the beginning of Christianity down to the twentieth century." A new impetus has been given to research into the *Acts of the Martyrs*, and these studies have been, and still are, pursued with a special interest by the French, and have lately also been taken up by German savants. We need not mention Allard and his *Histoire des persecutions* (5 vols., 1884-1900); Blant, *Les persecuteurs et les martyrs* (1893); or Achelis, *Die Martyrologien, ihre Geschichte und ihr Werk* (1900). Dom Leclercq, however, does not intend to give a critical edition of the *Acts of the Martyrs*, his series is only a translation of the "authentic acts" into French, with a view of giving to the children of Holy Church a new kind of instruction and a new sort of spiritual reading, in the same way as the famous founder of the Solesmes Congregation, Dom Gueranger, has done in his *Année liturgique*: "La Bible devait fournir le fond de tout l'enseignement. . . . Une autre source de la doctrine était les *Actes des Martyrs*. Ces pièces possédaient dans plusieurs Eglises une dignité liturgique officielle."

In a learned and interesting preface of 111 pages the author gives all necessary information as to the course of a persecution, its method of procedure, the publication of the edicts with all the intrigues of the emperors and officials, the torture and death of the martyrs, and the confiscation of their goods. He describes the behaviour of different classes of the persecuted, the flight or apostasy of some, and the excessive zeal of others. In clear words the author describes how the documents, or "Acts,"

were drawn up, handed down and preserved, and gives the sources (the judicial acts, the literary works, and monumental inscriptions) from which they are taken. In 139 pages Dom Leclercq gives a translation of the authentic *Acts of the Martyrs*, beginning with the inspired pages of the Gospels, viz., the *Tatiani Evangeliorum harmoniae*, wherein the passion and death of our Blessed Lord are recorded. Then follow the authentic acts of the martyrdom of St. Stephen (37), St. James (42), St. James of Jerusalem (62), down to the passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicitas (203).

On pp. 141-225 follows an Appendix of Acts whose authenticity is not quite genuine, or which have been interpolated and whose compilation must be referred to a later period, such as the acts of St. Andrew, St. Clement, etc. . . . Each chapter is preceded by a short introduction and the principal sources from which the Acts are taken are indicated. Surely such a book ought to revive the spirit of the first Christians at a time when a pagan world rises once more against the Church of Christ !

D. M. S.

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**The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages.** By the Rev. HORACE K. MANN, Head Master of St. Cuthbert's Grammar School, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Vol. I., "The Popes under the Lombard Rule." Part I., 590-657. 8vo, pp. xii., 432. London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1902. 12s.

WE heartily congratulate the learned author, "the Anglo-Saxon priest in communion with the See of Rome and writing in Northumbria," for having undertaken the task of publishing in an "English dress" the *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*. Professor Dr. Ludwig Pastor has traced the history of the Popes, which has recently been translated into English, from the close of the Middle Ages, and it may be hoped that an author may also be found to trace the history of the Popes from St. Peter to Gregory I. For surely nothing is more important at the present day than to show to our separated brethren by historical evidence what the Popes have done for mankind in general and for different nations in particular. The present Holy Father, Leo XIII., has over and over again expressed the wish that the Popes should be made known to the public at large, "Quorum laudibus tam saepe

invidere vel temporum iniuria consuevit vel hominum obtrectatio malevola," as he wrote to Professor Dr. Ludwig Pastor. Therefore he has opened the secret archives of the Vatican to all, even to the enemies of the Church. "*Bisogna far conoscere i Papi*"—"You must make the Popes known," said the Holy Father to the author of the present volume, when he was privileged to present him personally with a copy of his work. It is true Ranke, Bower, Milman, Gregorovius, Creighton, and many others have given the lives of the Popes to the public, but they are Protestant writers, and their productions naturally partake of the Protestant bias.

Father Mann gives us in this volume the first fruits of his endeavours. In the volume of 432 pages before us, which forms the first part of the first volume, he gives the biographies of the Popes: St. Gregory I. (590-604), Sabinian (604-605), Boniface III. (607), St. Boniface IV. (608-15), Deusdedit (615-18), Boniface V. (619-25), Honorius I. (625-38), Severinus (640), John IV. (640-42), Theodore I. (642-49), St. Martin I. (649-54), St. Eugenius I. (654-57); that is to say, the biographies of twelve Popes, whose government covers the short space of only sixty-seven years. The author, however, does not boast of "exact original research," for he says in the preface: "The ground I have gone over and have yet to travel is anything but new ground. It has been well worked by men of other countries. My task will, to a large extent, but consist in making known to my countrymen, in the language they love, the labour of other men in other lands, or in bringing together the results of such isolated work on individual Popes as already exists in English. But it will, of course, cease where Pastor has begun, if not before; that is to say, it will certainly not extend beyond the accession of Martin V. in 1417."

The inscription, "The Popes under the Lombard Rule," is somewhat misleading, since the work begins with Gregory I., whilst no notice is taken of John III., Benedict I., and Pelagius II.; but this is explained by two reasons given in the Preface.

The principal sources used throughout the work are the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. Duchesne), Jaffe's *Regesta*, the *Concilia* of Labbé, the *Monumenta* of Pertz, and the works of Muratori, Migne, etc. Each biography is prefaced by a special introduction, wherein particular information is given about the respective Pope, the sources used are described, ancient and modern biographies discussed, and these give ample proof that every-



thing available has been used to make the work thoroughly up to date. We are bound to say that the pictures are well drawn, the political and ecclesiastical situation well described, the lights and shadows ably defined, and the reading made easy and pleasant by comparison with the situation in later periods. On the other hand, however, it is a little tiresome that in the 250 pages devoted to the biography of St. Gregory the Great not a single division or sub-division occurs. (The notes in the margin do not make up for this omission.) Certainly the biography would be clearer and the picture more perfect if it were not given in one long breath. Of sources or biographies in connection with the life of St. Gregory there might also have been mentioned P. Wolfgruber, O.S.B., *Gregor der Grosse* (1890), and especially Ed. Clausier, *St. Grégoire le Grand, pape et docteur de l'Eglise, sa vie, son pontificat, ses œuvres, son temps* (1891).

The present title may also be misleading—*The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*—if the author extends that period to 1417, for then only a short space is left for the later mediæval period. And the reader would have been more thankful to Father Mann if he had given an alphabetical list of all the works consulted at the beginning of the book, rather than having scattered them throughout the work; as also if he had given a more elaborate analytical table of contents and a more copious index.

With some improvements, this volume and the volumes still to come will furnish excellent biographies of the Popes, and will enrich our English Catholic literature; and we hope that the author may be amply rewarded by the gratitude of numerous Catholic as well as non-Catholic readers.

D. M. S.

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**A Practical Commentary on Holy Scripture.** By FREDERIC JUSTUS KNECHT, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of Freiburg. Preface by the Rev. MICHAEL GLANCEY. Second English Edition. Revised. Freiburg: Herder.

THERE is no need of introducing Knecht's Commentary to those engaged in the teaching of Bible history. This book has done wonders in Germany. It has given to teachers a greater interest in the subject by increasing their knowledge and improving their method both in Catechism and

Bible history, so as to make these two branches of religious education more intelligible and practical. Since 1882 there have appeared no less than eighteen German editions. The first English edition appeared in 1894, and has been favourably received on both sides of the Atlantic. Bishop Messmer, of Green Bay, U.S.A., in his edition of Spirago's *Method of Christian Doctrine*, calls it: "The most excellent and only book of this kind in English; a real treasury of the catechist; a book without which no one should dare to teach Bible History." The present edition is a notable improvement on the first. Instead of the illustrations taken from the Bible history, it gives ninety-two valuable plates illustrating Biblical terms and localities. The verbal explanations of the text are given in footnotes, and are thus more closely connected with the text. For this and some other improvements we are indebted to Mgr. Schoebel.

In a few points the English edition does not fully represent its German parent. Dr. Knecht wrote his book as a commentary to a certain Bible history. He does not believe, as the author of the preface does (p. xxii.), that the commentary "will be found equally serviceable with any other narrative that teachers may prefer as the groundwork"; on the contrary, he recommends Schuster-Mey's edition very highly in his own preface. To adapt his commentary to other editions involves a great deal of trouble and work, the very things the good bishop wanted to save the teachers. The comparison between the ordinary German school readers and German Bible histories on the one hand, and English books of the same kind on the other hand, show the great superiority of the English readers, but also the great inferiority of the English Bible histories. Catholic children in Germany have beautifully printed and illustrated books of Bible history, which they read at home with great delight, and in comparison with which some of our little badly-printed pamphlets are hardly worthy of the sacred text they contain or pretend to contain.

The mutual interpenetration (p. xvi.) between Catechism and Bible history is better represented in the German work than in the translation. In the former, questions from the diocesan Catechism are constantly inserted as a commentary to the Bible stories. In the story of the fall of our first parents, for instance, all the questions relating to the terms sin, mortal sin, original sin, are brought in by way of repetition. Such a course was, perhaps, not feasible in an edition to be used in countries with

different Catechisms; still, some allusion to this important point of method ought to have been made.

The use of Bible History to illustrate the teaching of the Catechism is suggested by the concordance in the appendix of the second volume (p. 431 ss.). In this feature the translation most faithfully represents the original.

But there is another important point of method in which the author of the book and the writer of the preface differ widely, though readers of the English edition are not made aware of it. On page xvi. Father Glancey recommends a new and original scheme of teaching Bible history, viz., not in chronological order, but according to the chapters of the Catechism. The following is a specimen of the order which would thus ensue: Descent of the Holy Ghost; St. Peter's Sermon; Our Lord's Baptism; or, The Disciples going to Emmaus; Water made Wine, etc. The natural or chronological course is accused of being open to many drawbacks and of being preposterous. This may be Father Glancey's view, but it is not quite obvious that the advantages which he expects from its application cannot be secured equally by following the chronological order. Anyhow, it is worth pointing out that Dr. Knecht prefers the chronological order, but that his schemes for Bible history, according to that order, are omitted in the English translation. The short time given to religious instruction in our poor schools is no sufficient excuse for discarding the ordinary method, for Dr. Knecht has adapted his plans to schools where one teacher teaches all the children from nine to fourteen years, and has only one or two lessons a week at his disposal for teaching Bible history. But the author being a practical teacher and not a mere theoretical educationist knows how to overcome difficulties without proposing to teach a branch of history in an unhistorical way. It is desirable that a new English edition, which we hope will soon be necessary, should contain some of the schemes of the original, and thus give us more fully the views of the author.

L. N.

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**The X-Rays in Freemasonry.** By A. COWAN. London : Effingham Wilson.

WE have here in condensed and cheap form a valuable summary of the origin and tendency of modern Freemasonry. That it is an organised and unscrupulous conspiracy against Christianity in general, and the Catholic Church in particular, no well-informed man will deny. It is sufficient to refer to the scathing *exposé* of the aims and methods of the craft which occurs in the well-known Encyclical "Humanum genus." In a few short chapters dealing with the apocryphal "history" of Freemasonry, the various "rites," the French Revolution, and the responsibility of Freemasonry for that terrible outburst, the Masonic Republic, the Temporal Power of the Pope, Satan worship, etc., Mr. Cowan presents an array of evidence that is appalling. To take one instance, the Blessed Sacrament was stolen from Notre Dame in 1894 and subsequently profaned. Similar outrages occurred in thirteen churches in the diocese of Orleans, and in the departments of Aude, Isere, Tarn, Gard, Nièvre, Loiret, Yonne, Haute-Garonne, Somme, Le Nord, and the Dauphiny. In Italy outrages have taken place in Rome, Liguria, and Salerno, while a peculiarly revolting instance happened in Mauritius in 1895. That these sacrileges were the work of Freemasonry is admitted by one of their own number, Mr. Waite (*Devil Worship in France*, 1896). He, as an Englishman, repudiates them as being foreign to legitimate Masonry ; but we can only conclude, on viewing the system and its results both at home and abroad, that as is so often the case, the writer is far too good for his creed. The processions and hymns in honour of the devil which have from time to time taken place in the city of Rome are notorious.

English Freemasons have publicly denied all connection with foreign lodges. But attempts were made to further the nefarious designs of Garibaldi, both with men and money. English delegates took part in the Giordano Bruno procession. The "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite" owes allegiance to the "Supreme Pontiff" of that Rite, who lives in Rome and furnishes its propaganda with funds. When we consider the instances which occur from time to time in the army and elsewhere of organised injustice suffered by Catholics, we cannot altogether dissociate them in our minds from Freemasonry.

We may fitly conclude with the words of our Most Holy Father in his recent Encyclical on the evils of the time. "Freemasonry is," he says, "an enduring personification of revolutionary principles; it constitutes a kind of inverted society whose object is to exercise a hidden suzerainty over recognised society, and the very reason of whose being is nothing else than to urge war against God and against His Church."

J. C. B.

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**Corinne's Vow.** By MARY T. WAGGAMAN. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1902.

THE freshness characteristic of American fiction is conspicuous in this breezy tale, with its combination of romance and adventure. Boys will long, in reading it, to discover, despite all its perils, such a pirates' isle as that on which Hubert and Margie are cast ashore; and older readers will follow with interest the fortunes of the heroine in the hope that the author's ingenuity will find in the end some ready stroke by which to cut the Gordian knot in which her fate has got itself tied up. A fatal promise, extracted by the selfishness of a dying woman, pledges her to devote her life to the exclusive guardianship of her little half-sister, and love is postponed to duty while an ardently attached wooer pleads his cause in vain.

Poverty overtakes her simultaneously with bereavement, and she finds a refuge by taking the post of governess in a friend's family in a romantic eyrie on the southern coast of France.

"Down in the deep gorge through which the iron road cut its way all was shadow, but the lances of the sunset were gleaming on the wooded cliffs and hills, while still higher rose great white peaks, shimmering and glowing in the fading light like sun-kissed clouds.

"Laroche de Lascari had been the original name of the old feudal town, built, indeed, on and of the 'rock.' The gaily-painted railway station was the only modern thing in the place. Up from this little Swiss chalet, by which the train thundered, the old town straggled with its stone houses, vine-grown and grey, its broken arches and crumbling walls, the outgrowth of the centuries when the eagles of Lascari made their eyrie on those heights — those powerful princes who for hundreds of years had ruled the southern shores, and dispensed stern justice

untempered by mercy to all who disputed their sway. . . . The narrow path was a very step-ladder of stone, leading higher and higher until the little town was left far below in the shadow, and on a beautiful sunset peak, laved by the blue Mediterranean, rose the Château of Mont Aigle, the eyrie whence the lords of Lascari had watched the coast in the far-off past.

"The ancient 'Tower of the Eagles' still stood, surrounded by a graceful modern balcony, but all else had been changed. The crumbling old walls of the castle had been rebuilt fifty years ago, the rock terraced, shrubs and trees planted, until the old eyrie of the Lascaris was a fair and smiling mountain home."

It is a paradise for a child guest, and here Margery, disobedient and wilful, makes the opportunity for mischief which comes near to having a tragical ending. The pirate, in whose power she finds herself, is no ordinary freebooter, but the lord of San Marco, the descendant of an ancient race, on whom, by a sort of atavism, falls the hereditary curse of reverting to the vagabond and criminal habits of a remote ancestress's kinsfolk. He is a very effective villain, although his accessibility to Corinne's influence is scarcely in keeping with his character as a desperado. Still, he forms a picturesque figure, and his lurid background and violent end add depth of colour to the tale. The interest of the narrative is enhanced by sixteen full-page illustrations, which help us to realise the scenery and surroundings amid which it is placed; making altogether a very attractive volume for readers of all ages.

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**Renunciation and Other Poems.** By WILLIAM HALL, M.A.  
London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co. 1902.

**M**ANY moods of a mind tuned to grave and lofty thought are interpreted by this volume of devotional verse. It is more reflective and less emotional in character than ordinary religious poetry, and will for that reason appeal to a different class of readers. The communings of a soul with the Unseen form the main subject treated, as may be gathered from headings such as "Renunciation," "Aspiration," prefixed to sequences of song, each forming a structural unit, in which the same idea is worked out in the same measure, and in some cases with the additional link of a recurring phrase repeated as a refrain. In others an incident is treated as a sort of parable, and its lesson enlarged upon in successive stanzas. "Go, wash in Jordan!" is an instance in point, for here the story of

Naaman the Syrian is made the text of a series of amplifications of the deeper metaphorical meaning in which it is applicable to all time. A very ingenious apologue of the development of character under stress of trial and temptation is found in the stanzas entitled "Pearl Growth," on the production of the gem by the mollusk. The moral is pointed as follows :

" Its life resembled that of myriads round,  
Contented, self-contained, sleek, healthy, sound ;  
Nought hitherto its apathy had moved,  
Its powers of endurance tried or proved.

The elements might rage in frantic strife—  
Their turmoil could not reach its sheltered life ;  
When furious blasts the ocean surface swept,  
Scatheless, secure, most peacefully it slept."

The intrusion of a source of irritation from without puts an end to slothful comfort by compelling it to put forth all its energies to combat it :

" That which appears of most import to us  
Is—that round this extraneous nucleus  
A beauteous shrine was gradually wrought,  
Enriched with hues from the empyrean brought.

The expenditure and wasting one might say,  
That seemingly but tended to decay,  
And all its vital force to sap and drain,  
Became the occasion of its signal gain.

So that at last, when taken from among  
Its kind, and helpless on the sea-beach flung,  
To the bystanders' undisguised amaze  
Through the wide-gaping valves there met the gaze—

Scarce credible resultant of the pain  
Had made its life one long perpetual strain—  
A pearl as priceless as the purest gem  
E'er glittered in the costliest regal diadem."

The lesson of the volume is throughout the same, and the leading idea informing all its utterances is that strife, not peace, is the school of virtue, and that strenuous effort is a concomitant of moral, as of material progress.

The last three stanzas of the volume form the close of a sequence entitled "Good-night !" and are characteristic of the author's manner :



" Good-night !—some blest celestial band  
 Ev'n now may greet thee with good morn,  
 And welcome to the heavenly strand  
 A spirit newly born.

An insect waked from wintry trance  
 By the mild breath of quickening spring,  
 To join its fellows' blithesome dance  
 On light-plumed feathery wing ;

So thou, thy proper peers among,  
 A winged thing of light and fire,  
 Art one with the Throne-circling throng,  
 The fair seraphic choir :  
 Good-night ! Good-night ! "

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**Christianity in Travancore.** By G. T. MACKENZIE. Printed  
 at the Travancore Government Press, Trivandrum. 1901.

THIS volume, compiled by the British Resident in Travancore, is a section, separately published in anticipation by permission of the Maharaja, of the forthcoming *Manual of the Travancore State*. The author has given a lucid and impartial history of a very complicated subject, obscured by the conflicting prejudices of churches and nationalities.

"The history of Christianity in the Travancore State," he says, "is a subject of very great interest, not only because there is ground to believe that from very early times a Christian Church was in existence on this coast, but because at the present day one-fifth of the people of Travancore are Christians. The greater part of these Christians are known as Syrian Christians. They are Hindus by race, and speak the Malayalam language that is spoken by their neighbours who are Hindus by religion. This name, Syrian Christians, has been given because in their liturgies they still use Syriac or Chaldean liturgies. These Syrian Christians are found in Central and North Travancore, in the Cochin State, and in the Malabar district of British India. There are none in South Travancore. The bulk of them are Roman Catholics, but nevertheless follow their own Syriac rite. Others adhere to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. The remainder approach the Protestant standards of doctrine and ritual, and are usually called the Reformed Syrians, although they themselves dislike that name, and call themselves Christians of St. Thomas. These three bodies of Syrian Christians agree on one point, in claiming to be the descendants of the converts made by the Apostle St. Thomas on this coast, or of early Christian immigrants from Persia or Mesopotamia."

There are, in addition, a large number of Catholics descended from the converts of St. Francis Xavier or more recent Portuguese missionaries, who follow the Latin rite, as well as converts made by the Church Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, and the Salvation Army. The Dutch have left no religious impress on the coast.

The author sees nothing improbable in the widely-held and ancient tradition, firmly believed by the Syrian Christians, that the Apostle Thomas landed at Cranganore about the year 52 A.D., and was martyred at Mailapur, near Madras, after founding seven churches on the coast. He finds it, on the contrary, adopted as it has been by many writers of repute, corroborated to a great extent by its wide diffusion through the various Christian Churches as shown by old liturgies and martyrologies. But only very meagre details exist for the history of this ancient foundation from the time of the apostle down to the arrival of the Portuguese, when they found it still subsisting, though no longer in communion with Rome and lapsed into the Nestorian heresy. The first intercourse of the Malabar Christians with the Portuguese consisted in appeals for protection against their Mohammedan neighbours; but it was not until the arrival of St. Francis Xavier that any serious attempt was made to convert them. He speaks in his letters of the people of Travancore as "more easy to persuade and better disposed than any other in all that concerns the interests of religion," and in less than six months from his first entry into the country he is said to have founded forty-five churches. According to statistics quoted from the *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1901 the Catholic Church has now in the six dioceses in this region, including the Cochin State, over half a million Christians, nearly 600 churches, 1,109 schools with 36,098 students, 30 missionaries, and 595 native priests. The oft-preferred request of the Syrian Catholics to have bishops of their own race was acceded to in 1896, when three Syrian priests were consecrated as Vicars-Apostolic for three of the sees. The Carmelites of the Syro-Malabar rite have a central seminary at Verapoly with 40 students, and a branch one at Quilon with half that number.

The remainder of the Syrian Christians adhere to the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, and formed for a time a sort of amalgamation with the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, which lasted from 1816 to 1838.

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X.

**A Manual of Ascetical Theology**, or, the Supernatural Life of the Soul on Earth and in Heaven. By the Rev. ARTHUR DEVINE, Passionist; author of *Convent Life*, *The Creed Explained*, etc. London: R. and T. Washbourne, 4, Paternoster Row. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1902.

THERE seems to be a demand in these days for theological works in English, and Father Devine has here produced one that is interesting, and that will be, we may hope, useful. The book is divided into three sections: Part I., "The Supernatural Life of the Soul on Earth: its Nature and its Gifts"—under which heading are treated such points as the supernatural order and state, grace, the virtues, the gifts of the Holy Ghost; Part II., "The Growth and Increase of the Supernatural Life in the Soul"—under which heading are treated such points as progress, merit, Confession and Communion with its fruits, Transubstantiation; Part III., "The Final Perfection of the Supernatural Life in Heaven"—under which heading are treated such points as the Beatific Vision, the resurrection of the body, the indefectibility, eternity, and supernaturalness of the heavenly beatitude.

Nevertheless, we are bound to say that we have read the book with a keen sense of disappointment. If we are to judge by the works of accredited classic writers on this subject, we should say at once that the title of the present work is certainly a misnomer. By far the greater part of it is not ascetical theology at all, but dogmatic theology pure and simple—sections of *De Gratia*, *De Trinitate*, *De Sacramentis*, *De Novissimis*. Dogma, we may admit, is the foundation of ascetic science, and its fitting introduction; but surely not its main body or substance. Nor can we agree that any book can be properly called a "manual" which fails to give a complete outline and summary of the science it treats of. But the only distinctively ascetical elements of the present work would seem to be a part of the section on the Virtues and a part of the section on Penance and the Holy Eucharist; and we naturally ask, in amazement, What about prayer? or mortification? or the treatment of the passions? or the conditions of progress? or conquest over our spiritual foes? or many other matters besides, all of them necessarily involved in the *Ascesis*, in the training and exercising of the soul in the life of Christian

perfection? We look for them in vain : they are not dealt with at all.

For these reasons we venture to submit that the work, in spite of much good material, cannot justify its present title. It could only do so by including the treatment of such matters as we have mentioned, and by reducing the dogmatic element to the limits of an introduction.

The book is printed in bold, clear type, and has useful marginal headings and a useful index.

J. H.

**A General History of the Christian Era**, for Catholic Colleges and Reading Circles, and for Self-instruction. Vol. III., "The Social Revolution." By A. GUGGENBERGER, S.J., Professor of History at Canisius College, Buffalo, N.Y. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 17, South Broadway.

**T**HE third and last volume of this work is perhaps even more useful than the other two, while it is fully as interesting.

It embraces the chief events—political, social, religious—of the last two centuries, and includes such subjects as the Penal Laws in England and Ireland, the Seven Years' War and Fall of Poland, the American War of Independence, the French Revolution, and other revolutions throughout Europe, the Italian Question, the Franco-German War, the Slavery Question, Catholic Emancipation in England, the Catholic Revival on the Continent, the Eastern Question, and Church and State in our own day.

It may be well to remind the reader of the character of this work. He must not expect history written from a literary or philosophical standpoint. Though the book is clearly and neatly written, the packing together in strict chronological order of a host of facts and details gathered from all conceivable sources allows but little room for literary scope ; while the causes which the author assigns to the greater events are merely placed together side by side, without any treatment of their comparative results, or of their relative importance. As a class-book, to be learnt and remembered, this volume would be perfectly horrifying ; as a book of reference to the events of modern times, an encyclopædic summary of facts, which it would be laborious for the reader to gather together on his own account, it is extremely valuable.

J. H.

**The Gunpowder Plot and Lord Mounteagle's Letter,** being a proof with moral certitude of the authorship of the Document, etc. By HENRY HAWKES SPINK, Jun. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pp. xxxiii.-412.

THIS extraordinary book is a monument of painstaking research and unbounded historical enthusiasm, but we cannot regard its contents as in any degree fulfilling the promise of the title-page. Mr. Spink's thesis may be briefly stated. Christopher Wright, of Plowland (the younger of the two Yorkshire brothers engaged in the plot), was the repentant revealer of the conspiracy. He was aided in this laudable act by Thomas Ward, a gentleman in Lord Mounteagle's service, and Edward Oldcorne, S.J., who himself wrote the famous letter.

Mr. Spink's methods of proving this thesis are really astonishing. Conjectures and assumptions are corroborated by others, which have (as he often confesses) but very faint probability, and on these others, still further conjectures, more or less far-fetched, are based, and so on; until the whole unsubstantial structure has taken imposing proportions. It is then paraded as forming moral certitude, and the various assumptions that support it are henceforth taken as proven.

For instance, Christopher Wright *must* have revealed the plot because he had a pious mother, because he was a Yorkshireman, because he was a subordinate participant of later date than others in the conspiracy, and because he was one of those who did not survive to tell the tale at the trial. Thomas Ward *must* have been a great friend of his, because a Christopher Wright lived in the same Yorkshire village as a Thomas Ward for some years, though there is no certainty that either of them are to be identified with the actors in this tragedy. Since they are thus proved to have been great friends, to whom should the repentant Christopher turn in his anxiety to avert the awful catastrophe but to Thomas Ward, who was also *possibly* his brother-in-law. He therefore clearly did so, and revealed the whole secret to him, telling him to let Lord Mounteagle know as much as was necessary to effect the end in view. (Why the letter was then necessary at all is not very clear.) However he is not content with unbosoming himself to Ward, but (hypothetically) goes to confession to Father Oldcorne, whom he *may*

have known, as he was also a Yorkshireman, and had possibly been at the same school, though he was ten years older. He therefore *must* have been a great friend of Wright's, and must have at once proposed to write the letter to Lord Mounteagle, and send it to Thomas Ward by the hands of his faithful lay-brother, Ralph Ashby (*possibly* a Yorkshireman). The proof that he did this is that the letter (though written in a "painfully disguised" hand) bears a certain resemblance to his known handwriting; also that he was a Yorkshireman, and therefore the greatest of all the early English Jesuits. (There are other philosophical and metaphysical considerations which make this mere possibility moral certitude, but we own we cannot understand them.) He must, of course, have been released from the obligation of the seal of confession by his hypothetical penitent, but nevertheless he did not proclaim himself to be the author of the letter at his subsequent trial, but, on the contrary, he protested that he had known absolutely nothing whatever about the Gunpowder Plot before its discovery.

Mr. Spink, however, dismisses awkward facts like this as airily and as easily as he builds up ingenious suppositions into moral certitudes. If the supposed remorseful Christopher, when flying from London, is heard to say: "That if they had good luck they had made those in the Parliament House fly with their heels upwards to the sky," "the experienced citizen of the world who knows men practically, as the philosopher knows man theoretically, will not be literally amazed, or even unduly startled, at finding these words recorded against Christopher Wright, even after (*ex hypothesi*) he had become as one morally resurrected from the dead" (p. 108).

If a respectable local tradition, dating at least from 1650, makes Mrs. Abington of Hindlip the writer of the letter (and a writer of 1680 asserts that her own husband avouched this as a fact to a certain worthy person still living), Mr. Spink is properly shocked at such "a far-fetched story"—such loose and untrustworthy evidence—being accepted as of any value, and truly says that this testimony "at second, third, or fourth hand possibly is hopelessly inadequate for the establishing of any such conclusion. No contemporary writer," he adds (quoting Jardine), "alludes to Mrs. Abington as the author of the letter." Excellent! But what contemporary writer, we wonder, suggests that the martyred Jesuit, in spite of his protestations, wrote this letter? Mr. Spink, however, after dismissing the

Abington tradition, thinks it may come in useful after all, and suggests that what Mr. Abington really said was that his wife had found out *who* had written the letter. And this she might easily have done, he thinks, by observing the demeanour of the resident chaplain, who was none other than Father Oldcorne.

The style in which this long book is written is truly prodigious. We must give just one or two specimens.

"In short, the revelation [of the plot] was a curvilinear triangular movement" (p. 55). Mr. Spink is so fond of this phrase that he repeats it at least four times.

"Now, when deep within the depths of the moral being of Christopher Wright there first arose that tender dayspring, a realisation of guilt and shame : that crimsoned dawn, a sense of grief and sorrow for those two high crimes whereby his wretched conscious self had been made darksome and deformed : acts, wondrous in the telling, in that soul had indeed been wrought out ; regard being had to the overmastering power of man's conditioned, yet free will.

"Furthermore, the historical inquirer cannot but seek, if possible, by the exercise of the philosophic faculty, to penetrate to what, on the human side, may have been the originating cause, the moving spring, of the limited, yet responsible moral nature of a guilty creature," etc., etc. (p. 102).

"Who among these unparalleled conspirators is, then, the most likely, either through fear or remorse, or both feelings, to have first put into motion the stupendous machinery whereby the Gunpowder Conspiracy was revealed? Only an energy practically superhuman would be, or could be, sufficient for the accomplishment of such an end, as—well-nigh at the eleventh hour—speedily to swing round on its axis a project so diabolical and prodigious as the Gunpowder Plot" (p. 34).

Or take the following, as it is a characteristic example of the "proofs" brought forward. The famous letter ends : "*i hope God will give yorve the grace to mak good use of it to whose holy protection I comend yorve.*"

"Lastly should be noted the commendatory words wherewith the document closes. These words (or those akin to them), though in use among Protestants as well as Catholics in the year 1605, were specially employed by Catholics, and particularly by Jesuits or persons who were 'Jesuitized' or 'Jesuitically affected.'"

We should very much like some evidence in support of this astounding statement, which is seriously brought forward, be it



observed, as a corroboratory proof that Father Oldcorne wrote the letter.

At the same time, we are far from saying that the book has no value. On the contrary, for those who know how to use it, it may prove exceedingly useful. It contains a quantity of information on the Yorkshire martyrs and confessors which, though utterly irrelevant to the thesis of the book, is nevertheless most valuable. Unhappily it has no index, and thus these veins of gold are in danger of being lost altogether amid the quantity of dross in which they are embedded. It is a great pity that so much industry and so much varied information should not have been employed to better purpose.

D. B. C.

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**Communion Day: Fervorinos Before and After.** By the Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J. London: Art and Book Company.

THIS charming book aims at securing the accompaniments of careful preparation and heart-felt thanksgiving by the recipient before and after Holy Communion. By "Fervorinos" the author means "a short and simple devotional homily," tending more to encourage than to instruct. Both, however, travel *pari passu*, to the last page, accompanied by his peculiarly fascinating style and simple but intense earnestness. Solid instruction, fervent exhortation, and the usual unction of his pen keep the book in the reader's grasp, and cause him to lay it down reluctantly when finished. In rural districts, where preparation for sacraments is not so formally carried out as in cities and large towns, it will prove a golden treasure and just the thing wanted. Every Catholic family should have a copy. It will, moreover, prove a considerable relief to priests worn down with the drudgery peculiar to rural missions, as far as instructions on Holy Communion are concerned. In the interest of souls one cannot refrain from wishing this valuable little book a speedy and wide diffusion.

J. N. M.

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**La Confession et la Communion des Enfants et des Jeunes Gens.** Par l'Abbe P. LEJEUNE, Chanoine Honoraire de Reims. Paris : Lethielleux.

IN this little book of 120 pages P. Lejeune treats in a masterly and exhaustive way of the duties of parents and pastors towards the little ones of the Lord. The child is the man of the future, and will, as a rule, retain through life the first impressions made on its tender mind, guiding it to a pious or sinful career, according as the pastor or the Evil One has been the first in the field. Social regeneration, being a slow progressive work, must begin with the child, and the educator sows the seed for a harvest after his own day. The author strenuously combats the withholding from children of the Sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist under the plea that religious instruction is preferable until further maturity is attained. Instruction, even of the highest order, is light at best, but sacramental grace is indispensable for laying a foundation of Christian morality. A child deprived of proper nourishment is generally doomed to a puny and feeble existence. The author's arguments are well sustained throughout and appear to be unanswerable.

The all-important matter of First Communion, commended in the *Sinite parvulos*, is usually better attended to in towns, and we would respectfully recommend this golden little book to any country pastor, who is not unwilling nor afraid to fathom the responsibility of his stewardship. We hope it will be translated, and that we have not seen the last of P. Lejeune's brilliant pen.

J. N. M.

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**Catholic Truth Society Publications.**

*What the Catholic Church is and What She Teaches*, by Ernest R. Hull, S.J. Concise and correct information about our Catholic position and teaching is felt to be the crying need of the hour both by intelligent members of the Church and by conscientious inquirers outside the visible Fold of Christ. This penny tract has been written precisely with a view to supply that want. "Clear ideas of Catholic doctrine rather than proofs—such is the aim of the little book." Ill-instructed children of the faith will learn from its pages what a treasure

and a stronghold they possess in their holy religion, while the honest Protestant reader will come to see that in his opposition to Catholicism he has been opposing only a figment of the imagination. Father Hull has placed many priests with little time under a deep obligation by this short guide for inquiring Protestants.

*The Last Word of the Old Hierarchy.* The Catholic Truth Society has been well advised in laying the parliamentary history of England under contribution. This sixteenth-century speech, by the Catholic Bishop of Chester, on the Supremacy Bill, was indeed worthy of separate publication. Those who talk about the pre-Reformation Church in England not being Roman, might do worse than study the words of Bishop Scott—that is, of course, if historical evidence forms a plank of the anti-Papal platform. Pertinent notes add to the value of this interesting and weighty pamphlet.

*Some Prerogatives of Peter*, by the Rev. W. R. Carson. A cheap threepennyworth, running into close on six score pages. The titles of the five chapters of which this work is composed clearly indicate the drift and division of the subject. They are Peter, “the Prince of the Apostles,” “The Foundation of the Church,” “The Key-bearer of the Kingdom,” “The Confirmer of his Brethren,” and “The Shepherd of Christ’s Sheep.” In five discourses the author establishes from Holy Writ and the testimony of the Fathers the Catholic doctrine concerning the Petrine claims. Sobriety of diction and clearness of exposition mark this modest volume, which contains in handy form the substance of many bulky and inaccessible tomes on a subject which is possessed of undying actuality.

*God in Holy Writ*, by the Very Rev. H. I. D. Ryder, D.D., is the title of an illuminating discourse delivered at an oratorio held in the Oratory, Birmingham. It contains some helpful words on the mystery of evil which is a stumbling-block to so many souls. The importance of believing in and conversing habitually with God is impressively inculcated.

*Devotional Essays*, by M. D. Petre. Of the four essays contained in this little booklet the first, “Prayer,” will secure the greater number of points from most readers. We do not know a better summary of prayer in our language. It should be in the hands of every nun, and the school-mistress who desires to teach not the Catechism only, but religion, will find its hints of invaluable assistance.

*Entertainment of our Saviour in the Blessed Sacrament*, by Henry More, S.J. Price 3d. A descendant of the Blessed Thomas More compiled, in the seventeenth century, a Latin book of meditations on the Life and Doctrine of Jesus Christ. An English version was published at Ghent in 1656. It is here reprinted with some slight orthographical modifications. The pious author has drawn largely upon Holy Scripture and the Venerable Canon Regular, Thomas à Kempis. The book provides excellent and suggestive reading for Holy Communion, or for visits to the Blessed Sacrament.

*Our Lady of May*, by Emily Hickey. Price 3d. A fair garland of two-and-twenty poems. Clients of Mary will find many a thrilling line in this tiny volume. As a sample of Miss Hickey's gift for verse, we transcribe the following lines from *Our Lady's "Nativity"*:—

“ Here in the swaddlings of babehood all helpless she lies :  
 She who shall bear the Creator of earth and of skies.  
 Little babe-breast that shall pillow its Maker and feed ;  
 Little babe-hands that shall minister true to His need.  
 Little babe-heart for the sword in its piercing one day :  
 Little babe-feet that shall walk on the sorrowful way.”

*The Book of Wisdom*. Price 1d. We congratulate the Catholic Truth Society on having secured the able services of Canon M'Intyre. This addition to the Holy Scripture department makes us long for more. We have here the text of the Book of Wisdom, an introduction by the learned editor, luminous divisions, helpful notes—and all for a penny. One feels ashamed to wish for more notes, or to point out misprints like the three on pp. 9 and 10.

*Daniel O'Connell*. *Bishop Brownlow*, by the Rev. Vincent McNabb, O.P. *Father Faber*, by M. S. B. Malins. Three short biographies, written in a clear, bright, taking style, and helpful to all who desire to know the instruments which God uses in the reconstruction of His Church in England.

*St. Margaret of Scotland*. *St. Cecilia*. *St. Antony of Padua*. *St. Aelred*, by the Rev. J. A. Saxton. *St. Colette*. *St. Tioba*. *Blessed Sebastian Valfré*, by M. S. B. Malins. This batch of penny Lives of the Saints will provide profitable and pleasant reading to old and young, secular and regular. Father Saxton has given us an exquisitely-cut cameo in his sketch of St. Aelred, and visitors to Bournemouth and Weymouth would experience less weariness whilst waiting at Wimborne if they

were better acquainted with the history of St. Tioba and the other Dorset Catholic maidens who, before Protestantism was heard of, taught and sewed, nursed the sick, and supported foreign missions, read their breviary, sang the praises of God in the sweet Latin tongue, and assisted at Holy Mass in the humble Saxon church now replaced by the present desecrated minster.

*St. Patrick's Breastplate.* The original Irish form of this famous hymn is here given together with Father Ulick Bourke's rendering into modern Gaelic. For the sake of the "mere Sassenach," four English translations are appended. Their merit may be gathered from the fact of their being by Mr. Whitley Stokes, James Clarence Mangan, Mrs. Alexander, and Miss Emily Hickey respectively.

*The Monastic State*, by the Bishop of Newport. *The Education Bill*, by Father Glancey. *The Working Man's Apostolate*, by Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. All three pamphlets supply useful knowledge on present-day topics. They will well repay careful reading.

*A Book of Oratorios*, compiled by the Rev. Robert Eaton, of the Birmingham Oratory (2s. 6d.). From the introduction we gather that "an attempt has been made during the past six years at the Birmingham Oratory to produce a series of oratorios somewhat on the lines pursued by St. Philip." The oratorios in this volume are twelve in number, having for their themes different views of the life of Christ, some mysteries of religion, our Blessed Lady and St. Philip. By a chain of motets selected from various sources, English and foreign, each of these subjects is musically described, and then a preacher is introduced to drive home the lesson of the music. Among the preachers are Fathers Keating and Maturin. The volume is handsomely brought out—printing, paper, and binding reflect great credit on the Catholic Truth Society.

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**Religious Education and its Failures.** By the Right Rev. JAMES BELLORD, D.D., Titular Bishop of Milevis. Notre Dame Indiana, U.S.A. Pp. 80. 1901.

THIS booklet is not pleasant reading, and for this reason it should be read by all who are concerned with any form of religious instruction, whether of the child, the youth, or the grown-up person. The plan of the indictment, for it is

nothing else, is simplicity itself, and may be summed up in a few short sentences.

No one doubts that there is a distressing abandonment of the practice of their religion in a vast number of persons who have passed with success through all the machinery of Catholic instruction and training. Here we have a result that is sufficiently general. Of this general result there must be some common cause, for no assignable local condition will account for it. That cause, on examination, is declared to be no other than the inherent defects of the existing method of imparting the doctrines of religion to children. The child learns the words of an unintelligible catechism, while its intellect and imagination are left a desolate waste. We have adopted modern methods in the subjects of secular knowledge; but we have made no effort whatever to modernize our methods in the unspeakably more important branch of religious knowledge.

Many who read this pamphlet will feel disposed frankly to avow that substantially they are in agreement with the author of this book. Looking back over the period of their own instruction, they may be forced to admit that, saintly as were their instructors, and excellent in many respects as were the methods they employed, yet they lacked invariably the light of genuine explanation, the glow of imagination, and the impulse of cultured enthusiasm.

The principles so forcibly set forth by the Bishop are capable of a wider application than it is his purpose to give them. For if the illuminative communication of ideas, which he desiderates, is necessary in the case of children, is it less necessary in the case of our grown-up people who are thrown, many of them, for the greater part of their lives, under the action of non-Catholic influences of all kinds? Religion is attacked on the intellectual side; its teachers must therefore be suitably prepared by a broad, vigorous, and thorough scientific training in theology and the kindred sciences. It has also to be borne in mind that religion, either as teaching its doctrines or defending them, has to deal with the man of the day, the man in the street, with his strong individuality, his assertiveness, his narrowness, and his want of real education; he is a man of one language, and one set of ideas, and, in his own particular way, he is a child. And as the child can be dealt with in no way but as a child, so the man in the street can be touched, influenced, and instructed by no intellectual measure but his own. As it appears to us, every

word in the pamphlet under review tells with increased force for the demand for a clergy whose power of exposition shall not be inferior to their technical knowledge.

We trust this indictment may be procurable from some local publisher, as it deserves to be widely read. It is clear, plain-spoken, and summarizes the views of several who have a claim to be heard as specialists in this most important subject.

H. P.

**La Réalité des Apparitions Angéliques.** Par le R. P. D. BERNARD - MARIE MARÉCHAUX. Paris : P. Tégué. Pp. ix., 140.

**E**ARLIER volumes of the series to which this book belongs have already been noticed in the pages of the DUBLIN, and we take the opportunity of congratulating those who have projected the collection of handbooks which form the *Bibliothèque des Sciences Psychiques* on the work they have accomplished in the space of a few years.

The action of good and evil spirits has been displayed ; that other world beyond the tomb has been to some extent explored in *L'Autre Vie*, by Mgr. Méric ; *Au-delà du Tombeau*, by Père Hamon, S.J. ; and *Sur le Seuil de l'Au-delà*, by Ch. Vincent. The writer of the present volume published *La Réalité des Apparitions Démoniaques* in 1899 ; he subsequently brought out a series of articles in the *Revue du Monde Invisible*, which we think he has done well to bring together in book form.

The manner of treatment is chiefly historical ; the angelic nature, its mode of action, the arrangement and offices of the heavenly spirits are not dealt with ; the object of the writer being to answer the question, when, where, to whom, and under what circumstances have the good spirits appeared to men. In giving an answer to this somewhat complex question, he draws a distinction between intellectual visions, imaginative representations, and bodily presence, and is careful to point out the evidence for bodily presence in particular instances.

At p. 2 he contrasts the general features of demoniacal and angelic apparitions :

“ Le diable est une trombe qui renverse tout sur son passage ; l'ange, une brise légère qui se contente de relever sur leur tige les plantes alanguies. Le diable fait irruption auprès des saints comme le brigand de nuit qui frappe et qui tue, ou comme le



vaurien des rues qui persifle et qui ricane ; l'ange descend à leurs côtés, comme le rayon qui filtre d'en haut, ou plutôt comme l'ami qui cherche l'intimité et qui parle bas pour n'être pas entendu au dehors. Il est aisé de reconnaître la présence du diable au vacarme qu'il fait, aux coups qu'il décharge sur les amis de Dieu, aux blessures qu'il leur inflige ; les suaves réconforts, produits par l'assistance des anges, ne laissent pas de vestiges appréciables à l'œil charnel."

At page 139 he briefly draws a contrast between the phenomena of angelic visitation, and the well-known features of what is called spiritism.

In the case of angelic apparitions he remarks : " L'existence du monde invisible est affirmée, mais en même temps la ligne de démarcation entre lui et le monde visible est maintenue. Au contraire, dans la doctrine des spirites, les notions sont confondues, et les frontières effacées ; les phénomènes qu'ils provoquent à l'état endémique constituent une intrusion anormale et violente des esprits dans les régions corporelles ; ils sont excessifs, troublants, sans dignité ; et le charme exquis du mystère s'évanouit chez eux dans la banalité monotone et désespérante de communications sans but et sans portée."

After a description of the angelic apparitions which are recorded in the pages of the Old and New Testaments, we are introduced to the Angels of the Martyrs, the Virgins, the Anchorites, etc. Up to this point the author has made abundant use of the earlier volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists, and in particular of their treatise on the Angels in vol. viii. for September, pp. 4-38, 87, although the arrangement of matter is his own. Henceforth he takes up the series according to centuries, following the Bollandists step by step till the close of the seventeenth century. He then proceeds independently with his record down to the year 1830.

The work is a compilation in a popular form, which will certainly tend to encourage faith in and devotion towards the holy angels. The authority of the Bollandists, and of the recent writers whom he quotes, is a sufficient guarantee to those who are unable to consult the original sources for themselves, that the work has been carried through in a temperate and critical spirit.

H. P.

**The Transcendental Universe :** Six Lectures on Occult Science, Theosophy, and the Catholic Faith. By C. G. HARRISON. London : George Redway. Pp. viii., 168.

THE author of these lectures represents himself as a somewhat irrepressible devotee of Theosophy. If not a recent Initiate, he is by no means an adept in all the language and veiled mysteries of the craft of occultism. His vision of things occult is but in some early stage of development, and he gratefully acknowledges the aid he has received from more advanced brethren in expounding for him in human language his glimmerings of spiritual insight. Be this as it may, the writer has come to the understanding of many things within the ken of the ordinary mortal in those portions of the book which may in the common use of language be described as intelligible. He has, for instance, learned that occultism has for ages covered a good deal that is ineffably bad ; he has obtained some familiarity with the troubles behind the veil. He has formed a view not wholly flattering of the foundress of modern Western Theosophy, Mme. Blavatsky ; he has been able to realise, and honestly admits, that much that belongs to his particular communication to the world is but a tentative conjecture. His intellectual or emotional position is in the school of exaggerated mystics, of whom there have always been representatives from the earliest days of religious philosophy.

It is a little amusing to see him offering his patronage to the Catholic Church. In his theory of prayer (which he misunderstands) he is ingenious even when mistaken. His references to the Jesuits are of themselves sufficient to stamp the book as unreliable, even when capable of being understood.

H. P.

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**Arundel Hymns and other Spiritual Praises ;** chosen and edited by HENRY, DUKE OF NORFOLK and CHARLES T. GATTY, F.S.A. Published by the Editors from 3, Queen Street, Mayfair, London, W. Pp. viii., 234.

THE literary element of the Arundel Hymns has at length been completed. Of hymns and canticles, English and Latin, the collection contains 308. The classification of the hymns, though not shown in the index, is an interesting feature of the book. Thus there are 12 hymns to Almighty God

and the most Holy Trinity, 136 to the Sacred Humanity of Christ, including hymns for the great festivals of the year, hymns to the Blessed Sacrament, the Sacred Heart, the Holy Name, etc., 5 to the Holy Ghost, 51 to our Blessed Lady, 39 to the Saints and Guardian Angels, 18 on the Four Last Things, 44 on the Church and for various phases of Christian life. There is here, obviously, abundant matter for the choirmaster to select from, and the matter is nearly always excellent. Slight but judicious changes have been introduced into the wording of some familiar hymns, and in several instances entire verses have been wisely omitted. The collection as a whole is exceedingly beautiful; and beyond its primary object of a collection of hymns to be sung, it ought to serve the purpose of a devout book of spiritual reading, especially as a certain number of the hymns, which are less suited for general and popular use, will be found by the cultured reader to be as rich in thought as they are delightful in expression. We rejoice to find that the editors have themselves taken this view of their collection:

"These hymns and praises," they observe, "are not all adapted for music, some being included for private devotional reading: nor are they intended exclusively for use in the church, but also for the school and the home."

H. P.

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**Commercial Trusts: the Growth and Rights of Aggregated Capital.** By JOHN R. DOS PASSOS. New York: Putnam. 1901.

THIS work is an argument delivered before the Industrial Commission at Washington in December, 1899, by a distinguished member of the New York Bar; it is a good piece of pleading, the history and political philosophy to be found in it being probably well-adapted to produce an effect on the minds of the Commissioners and counterbalance the *ex parte* statements on the other side; the praises of *laissez-faire* sounded by Mr. Dos Passos counterbalance the clamour for stringent laws raised by his opponents to check combinations; and their strong language is counterbalanced by his denunciations of "demagogism" and the envy and ignorance of politicians.

But when such an address is republished, avowedly "corrected and revised," it must stand on its own merits and be judged by a higher standard. And if so judged, it will be found, as a plea

for leaving industrial combinations alone, to have many weak points.

Thus, as if the whole theory and legislation on mortmain were non-existent, he asks triumphantly whether a corporation is to be denied the same rights as an individual (pp. 21-22).

Then, in forgetfulness that numerical precision is not attainable by human justice, and that all amounts—for example, the income exempt from income-tax or the fines inflicted for misdemeanours—must be more or less arbitrary, he demands to know the exact amount that aggregated capital must reach to become pernicious (p. 20).

Thirdly, in the manner of many lawyers, he habitually confuses law and fact; gravely argues that American "trusts" are not monopolies because they are not legal monopolies in the sense of those granted by Queen Elizabeth (pp. 27, 60); and declares that the American public is amply protected, as no doubt it is, by the present letter of the law, against any misconduct of company promoters or directors (pp. 102, 125).

Fourthly, instead of regarding law as the expression of right, and the State as the organ for securing our liberty, he thinks law a restraint on our liberty, and citizenship the result of a bargain: "When a man is born into the world, it is assumed that he bargains with some government for citizenship; that is the accepted origin of society" (p. 8). "Every law that you make is, as it were, a nail in the coffin of natural liberty. The object of government is not to make laws; the object of government is to avoid making laws" (p. 9).

Fifthly, he believes in "natural laws of trade and business" whose operation is sufficient to prevent or to break up most commercial monopolies (pp. 25, 63). These laws defy human legislation; if the statute law clash with them, down it must go before their operation (p. 72). "Legislate! Why, you may as well undertake to regulate the tide of the Potomac river as to fix by principles of law the rules of supply and demand which operate in regard to monopoly" (p. 67).

The Potomac river may have peculiarities, but certainly the tides of the Thames river and the Ouse are most effectually regulated, or a great part of London and thousands of fertile acres would be under water twice in the twenty-four hours. And there is a singular consent of nations to legislate against theft and violence, though we have only to read the police news each morning to see how the operation of the natural laws of

covetousness and anger daily defies human legislation and produces a harvest of empty pockets and broken heads.

Moreover, our author's faith in these defiant natural laws of trade is only a wavering faith, and fails him utterly in one place: "You can, if you are prepared to take such a step, wipe corporations [joint stock companies] from the statute-books of this country, or so cripple them by curtailing their inherent powers, as to make them impotent. But he is a bold man who will advocate such revolutionary measures. You can cut the throat of aggregated capital with the smallest knife of legislation, but who will commit the murder?" (pp. 89, 90).

Are we, then, to put aside this book as valueless? Not at all. For not merely does it contain much useful information on American laws of partnership and on the failure of actual legislation against "trusts," but amid all the irrelevancies and fallacies there is a solid core of argument that the commercial greatness of America is largely due to combinations of capital; that to sweep them away would be disastrous to public welfare; and that the sufferers would not be the millionaires, who know well how to take care of themselves, but the public in general, and in particular the multitude of men of small means who have invested money in the great corporations (pp. 89, 131). It would have been well had our author dwelt more on these valid arguments; had he pointed out that vast combinations are almost a necessary consequence of the technical advance in means of communication such as the telegraph and telephone; had he recognised that the laws protecting the weaker members of society must be adapted to the new conditions of business; that the great combinations must be duly charged with great responsibilities (such as insurance of their workmen, and publicity of their charges); and that stiffly to reject all regulation of combinations, on the plea of natural liberty or individual right, is to give plausibility to the very revolutionary proposals and to play into the hands of the very "demagogism" that Mr. Dos Passos denounces.

C. S. D.

**Les Béatitudes de l'Evangile et les Promesses de la Démocratie Sociale.** Par Mgr. SCHMITZ, Evêque Coadjuteur de Cologne. Traduit de l'Allemand par l'Abbé L. COLLIN. Paris : Lethielleux. 1902.

THE author of this work, for years a zealous priest in the industrial Rhenish centres of Dusseldorf and Krefeld, was raised in 1893 to be the Coadjutor Bishop of Cologne, and holding this post till his death in 1899, gained by his devotion to the needs of the poorer and working classes the title *der soziale Bischof*, or the People's Bishop. His chief mode of action—the mode indispensable in these days, and constantly urged on us by Leo XIII.—was to group the Catholic population, men and women, young people and adults, apprentices and workmen, shopkeepers and farmers, each in an association fitted to their circumstances. A brief description of these works is to be found in the preface by the Abbé Collin, who deserves our thanks, not merely for his excellent translation, but for bringing before us so interesting a personality as that of Bishop Schmitz.

The main body of the volume is composed of eight discourses on the Beatitudes; and if the author seems occasionally to paint the Middle Ages too brightly, and the present time too darkly, we must remember that these discourses form a set of Lenten sermons intended to rouse the hearers to an amendment of life; and as sermons they are excellent. The main thesis that runs through them all is that, without Christianity and the teaching of the Beatitudes, there is no reaching, even in this world, true happiness. It therefore becomes evident that to treat the social question apart from religion, or to seek social peace without it, is waste of time; and that we are quite mistaken if we think happy homes are to be had without the Christian family, or that natural kindness and philosophic philanthropy are any solid substitute for the Beatitude: Blessed are the merciful. We must not forget our history, and the degradation of the great mass of mankind, until Christianity raised them up.

The following citation from Bishop Schmitz will serve as an illustration of his style, though I fear that much of the force of the original German may evaporate in the double translation. Speaking of the Social Democrats, who form the principal part of the German Socialists, he says (pp. 258-260):—

"The saviours of the workmen, as they call themselves, emphatically bid us strive against the doctrine of self-sacrifice and the Cross, as hostile to progress and civilisation, and declare true redemption to consist in the deliverance of men from the dark ignorance that lies around them. . . .

"Will they in this way find happiness? Remember that to be set free from sin makes man a child of God, an heir of heaven, a brother of the angels. How great a dignity is thus gained by the poor workman: his hands may be toil-hardened, his garments toil-stained, his food scanty; but, all the same, his soul can be ennobled by divine grace—can be a likeness of the Most High; and with the love of God for its adornment, can be more richly clad than Solomon in all his glory.

"Take away from the workman this dignity of the soul, and what is left him? He is but an ignorant man—the object of our pity, and, by his very position, under sentence of hard labour. . . . In its hatred of the Cross of Christ, Social Democracy strips labour of all its true worth. There is a grandeur and sublimity in working for the love of Christ; but, when this belief is snatched away, to be compelled to work is to be burdened with an intolerable yoke."

This, and similar passages of Bishop Schmitz may be found very useful for our preachers, especially in addressing a working-class audience.

C. S. D.

**St. Francis in the World:** a Drama in Three Acts. Adapted from the French by the Rev. A. DEKKERS. Burns and Oates. 56 pp., 16mo.

THAT this drama was taken from a French original is obvious, apart from the title-page, from such forms as "Bernardon" for Bernardone. Why anyone should have troubled to adapt it is far less obvious. A feeble production it would be hard to imagine. As to the style, it is sufficient to quote the titles given to the characters—"Mr. Francis," "Mr. Bernardon," "Mrs. Pica"! In the last scene St. Francis strips off his clothes behind the scenes:

CHAPLAIN: Look, Monseigneur, what is Francis doing?

BISHOP (*looking*): He is taking off his garments!

FRANCIS (*from within*): Allow me, I beseech you!

BISHOP: My God! cover yourself with my cloak. Chaplain, call a servant! My God, what a sight!"

This, if you please, is the thrilling climax of the play. But most of the pages are rather flat than comic.

J.



**How to Reason, or the A B C of Logic Reduced to Practice**, in Analysing Essays, Speeches, Books. By the REV. RICHARD C. BODKIN, C.M. Browne and Nolan. 1902. Pp. 184. 12mo.

THIS unpretentious little book may safely be recommended to those who wish to get an idea of elementary logic without a teacher. Only the simplest rules of deductive logic are given, and these in the simplest and plainest form. After this, two-thirds of the matter is given up to teaching by examples how to analyse books, and how to detect fallacies, and how to make summaries of long arguments without missing the chief point and dwelling on the unnecessary details. The last part of the book, on "abstracts," seems particularly good. We hope it will be useful to a great many. Unfortunately, it is just the people who are most illogical by nature who are the least attracted to the study of logic.

J.

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**Relation de Terre Sainte (1533-1534).** Par GREFFIN AFFAGART. Paris : Lecoffre. 1902. Pp. xxviii. and 247.

M. J. CHAVANON, Archiviste Paléographe, is the editor of a most interesting pilgrim's guide, written by a French nobleman in the year 1535, shortly after his return from Palestine. Pilgrimages had become rare at that time, both on account of the writings of Luther and Erasmus and by reason of many difficulties, partly real, partly imaginary. The writer's intention was to encourage his countrymen by giving them a picture of the real state of affairs, and by showing them how to cope with the different obstacles in the way. He found that a hermit's garb was the most convenient and the least dangerous attire; he gives his readers an account of the best route, of the value of different kinds of money, of the habits and the religion of the people, both on the way and in Palestine. He had noticed and he put down everything that might prove interesting or useful for others. Thus, his book was not only extremely practical for his contemporaries, but it is very interesting reading for us nowadays. The old spelling will prove no difficulty for English readers, but rather the contrary.

M. Chavanon has done the part of editor well. He was

moved to publish the manuscript on account of its value, which is testified to by the fact that no less than eleven writers have published parts of it. The original work is now lost, but the copy represented it faithfully enough to justify its publication. The history of the Affagart family will prove chiefly interesting to other families connected with them. If the price is not too high, the book, with its six illustrations, is well worth reading.

L. N.

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**St. Dominic and the Rosary.** By the Rev. WILFRID LESCHER, O.P. Washbourne. 1902. Pp. vi. and 137. 1/6.

FATHER LESCHER'S book is the result of the recent controversy on the topic mentioned in the title. There was no apparent reason for the controversy, and the state of the question has hardly been changed by it. The tradition which attributes to the saint the division of the Psalter of our Lady into fifteen decades, the insertion of the Pater and of the Gloria Patri has not been disproved. The claim of Dominic the Carthusian that he introduced the mysteries cannot simply be denied by quoting the absence of a Carthusian tradition, especially not by the author, who does not acknowledge negative arguments against positive reasons. But it may be understood that he inserted the vocal recitation of certain formulas containing St. Dominic's original mysteries, a practice which is still very common in Germany. In this way the claim of the Carthusian can be reconciled with the Dominican tradition.

The justification of Alanus is perfect and made unanswerable beyond doubt by the straightforward statement that he published no book, he left no manuscript, or even notes (p. 55). But then it is incomprehensible how the compendium can be his last and mature work (p. 56), how he can be invoked as a witness of the Rosary tradition, or how his high character can be invoked for the correctness of statements written by others after his death. And if the whole knowledge of the Bull of John XXII. (p. 18) is derived from his testimony quoted in the compendium, then we have no evidence of it; again, if the Preaching Brethren at Cologne (p. 12) and Leo X. and the Legate Alexander (p. 13) founded their statements on Alanus' supposed works then the tradition would lose some of its strongest supports. It does not appear why the indicative

shows, that Leo. X. makes the statement of the Dominicans his own (p. 12); it looks just as if he wanted to do the contrary. On the whole one does not see why the testimonies of the Popes should be stretched beyond their due proportions. The Rosary tradition is not a divine tradition, but a historical one. As to the latter, the Sovereign Pontiffs may be deceived or mistaken, as the Holy Ghost has not undertaken any guarantee or promised any assistance. A tradition supported by pontifical documents carries very great weight, but does not claim any infallibility. It would be irreverent and unbecoming to doubt it without strong reasons, but if it were proved to be founded on a fraud or a mistake (a most unlikely thing in this case) this discovery would not make the Holy See ridiculous but those who exaggerate its position.

The age of the Rosary Confraternities beyond the date given by Father Loe (p. 94, "In 1470 the first confraternity was erected at Douai") is not proved by the testimony of Legate Alexander (p. 13) on the quotation on page 135, and the confraternities of Italy in honour of Our Lady (p. 61) may be, but are not necessarily Rosary Confraternities.

The miracle of Alexander ought to have disappeared long ago from the glories of Mary. Any priest giving Holy Communion to a mere head, revived by a miracle, would be guilty of a sacrilege, even according to St. Alphonsus; for where would be the *manducatio*? But Father Lescher was very hasty, and consequently unfortunate, when he tried to retort on Father Thurston by quoting from the life of St. Hugh a miracle of a similar kind, as he calls it. Father Thurston speaks clearly of censures and not of post-mortem administration of sacraments. Absolution from censure after death has a very practical effect, as it allows burial in consecrated ground. Calixtus II. absolved the Emperor Henry IV. after death, and thus granted him a Christian burial; St. Gregory tells a similar story in the life of St. Benedict which has never provoked any remarks of disapproval.

Blessed Jordan is not a good witness for the Rosary tradition, for he seems to have vastly preferred his own coronula to that of his founder (p. 41), and the prayer called the first mystery (p. 31) looks much more like the Angelus, especially as it does not leave any room for the Pater.

If the weak points of the book were omitted the rest would be useful and edifying. The reverend author has been moved to

write by his zeal for the truth, and he is fully aware that his holy founder would not feel honoured by anything which is not "veritas."

L. N.

**Practical Explanation and Application of Bible History.**

Edited by Rev. JOHN J. NASH, D.D. Benziger Brothers.  
1902. Pp. 515. Price \$6.

DR. NASH has adapted Siegel's book, *Katechetischer Leitfaden*, for English-speaking catechists. The aim is clearly stated in the title, and the principal feature is the practical application found at the close of each chapter. All that precedes the narrative of the subject and its development is nothing more than the means to the end (p. 6). This end is constantly kept in view by the writer, and the application is not only practical throughout, but can be naturally drawn from the subject matter, and is never far fetched. So far the book deserves every recommendation.

The original has apparently been written as an explanation of Mey's *Bible History*, the same which is also used by Dr. Knecht in his commentary. It is also (like Dr. Knecht's German work) closely connected with some edition of Deharbe's *Catechism*, and contains a number of questions and answers from that book. These answers are useless for schools where another catechism is used. The questions alone would have sufficed to draw the attention of the catechist to similar questions in his own book. Catechists who are unable to work by the use of such hints, because they do not know their own catechism, had better learn it before they teach others. The same may be said of the repetition of the Scripture text. By leaving out this unnecessary matter the book would have been cheaper without losing any of its real value. So much about the matter.

The contents of the book are given in the form of questions and answers. Set questions are always in their proper place when children are expected to learn the answers by heart. But there are very few questions in the book worth learning by heart if we except quotations from the sacred text or from the catechism. Many of the answers are too long and too difficult; others might be given just as well in another form. Another reason for writing out questions is to help beginners in teaching, who, as a rule, make the questions too difficult. The book does

not do this, but fails in this respect fairly often. Some questions come too abruptly.

Lesson III., *e.g.*, speaks of the creation of the first man, Paradise and the creation of Eve. On page 26 the question is asked and answered: "How did Christ our Lord sanctify marriage?" Immediately after this the children are to answer the question: "What should we learn from this lesson?" by saying: "We should learn from it never to stain our soul, the image of its creator, with mortal sin." Now the supernatural likeness in the soul is mentioned very briefly two pages before, and sin as a stain on it has not been mentioned in the whole lesson. The application is capital, but the form is bad. Some questions bringing the idea before the mind of the children ought to be put in, and the connection between the supernatural truth and its application ought to be clearly shown. Questions of this kind would be a real help to children and teachers.

The difficulties for both are increased when several applications are made, which are founded on different truths contained in the lesson.

Lesson VIII., *e.g.*, speaks of Noe's sacrifice and his children. The last and most important question is as usual: "What should we learn from this lesson?" The children are expected to answer: "We should learn from it: 1, to thank God morning and night for all his benefits; 2, to be modest in dressing and undressing; 3, to love and honour our parents." All three are very good applications; 1 refers to Noe's sacrifice of thanksgiving; 2 to the conduct of Sem and Japhet; 3 to the blessing bestowed on them by their father and the curse pronounced on Cham; but there is no connection between the preceding question and the subject matter of 1 and 2.

The vague and stereotyped form of the last question in every lesson is the worst fault of the whole book. Why not ask, *e.g.*, What did Noe do immediately after leaving the ark?

Why did he offer this sacrifice?

How can you imitate Noe's example of gratitude?

In the same way the two other applications might be elicited from the children themselves. This is no loss of time, but a good training for the catechist in asking questions and for the children in finding out how practical conclusions can be drawn from the revealed truths.

The paper and the print of the book are of a superior quality and do credit to the publisher. Despite the defects mentioned,

we trust with the editor that this little book will not fail to do some good (p. 6).

L. N.

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**More Home Truths for Mary's Children.** By Madame CECILIA. London : Burns and Oates.

THIS volume of 268 pages forms logically a continuation of "Home Truths" which Madame Cecilia, in a book previously published, has given us. This explains the title, "*More Home Truths.*" Although the work is primarily intended for the Children of Mary, yet there will be scarcely any among general readers who may not profit by a perusal of its pages. The authoress wields a most felicitous pen ; her style is attractive ; with graceful ease she keeps the reader's attention alive, without ever wearying him. She dexterously makes use of incidents, many of which have happened quite recently, wherewith to illustrate her propositions. Thus, for instance, on page 173-4 we find the proposition, that sanctification is our own personal work, illustrated in the following manner : " In 1901 a wretched Anarchist murdered the beloved President of the United States. After the sentence of electrocution was passed on the assassin, how many earnest Christians offered fervent prayers for his repentance ? The fatal day drew nearer and nearer, but God did not force the culprit's free will. The criminal persevered in the path of iniquity, and his last words were : ' I am not sorry.' God alone knows what passed between that wretched man and his Creator during the few seconds which preceded death ; but, as far as man can judge, he died impenitent. Thousands were anxious for his repentance, but their prayers and endeavours could avail nothing if the man himself was indifferent."

On page 172, line 12, we find a curious misprint : " weakness " appears there in lieu of " meekness."

L. T.

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**Earth to Heaven.** By the Right Rev. Mgr. VAUGHAN.

London : Sands & Co. 8vo. Pp. 184. 3/6.

THE large number of readers who have appreciated Mgr. Vaughan's *Life after Death*, and *Thoughts for all Times*, will rejoice that he has added the present volume to the list of books which the Catholic public owes to his zeal. The book consists of eleven chapters, which might very well serve as meditations, as they effectually bring the reader face to face with the reality of things in the consideration of the First Cause and Last End, and deal with such thoughts as "Whence? Who? What? Whither? Fear God, Trust in God, Judgment, Victory, the Ascension, the Risen Body, and Celestial Joys." As the mind is thus carried in an upward flight from God's witness in creation here below to the revelation of God Himself as our eternal reward above, the title, *Earth to Heaven*, appropriately expresses its scope and purport. We are glad to find that the author, in treating of the existence of God, takes his stand upon those sterling proofs of causality and design which the psalmist and St. Paul have used from the beginning, which the scholastics have presented in scientific form, and which have their foundation in the reason and commonsense of mankind. The philosophers who fall out with their own faculties, who live in a chaos of scepticism as the well-deserved penalty of having denied the validity of their God-given organs of sense and perception, who seek to pack the Universe into their own subjectivity because they cannot, so to speak, jump out of their own windows to get an outside view of their ego, are rightly left aside, with all such dwellers of the mist, to deal with their own difficulties. Mgr. Vaughan's appeal is not to the empty idealism, in which the Oxford writer in the *Contentio Veritatis* actually asks the man in the street—of all men!—to find the ultimate basis of Theism. The issues are far too serious and too practical for mere philosophy-weaving, and the author of *Earth to Heaven* goes straight to the sense of reason and religion, which, after all, lies deep in the heart of man, and is ready to witness for Him who planted it. On the question of eternal punishment, which in these days of sickness of faith is so often mentioned with bated breath, Mgr. Vaughan speaks plainly and unfalteringly, and he has not felt bound to mince his words where Christ Himself has not chosen to mince them. The description of the Heavenly joys is still



more vivid, and many, we feel sure, will rise from the reading of these pages strengthened and encouraged in their resolve to fight the good fight and win the crown incorruptible. The style of the work throughout is lucid and clear, and the dignity and solemnity of the subjects considered are fittingly marked by the plainness and terseness of the language which is used in their exposition. The value of the book is enhanced by an able and graceful preface by the Bishop of Emmaus, in whose commendation of the work as a "modest but prudent effort to spread the knowledge of God amongst the many men of good-will who surround us," we cordially join.

Y.

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**The Life of Bartolomé de las Casas.** By Rev. L. DUTTO. Freiburg and St. Louis, Mo. : B. Herder. 8vo. Pp. 592.

**D**ESPITE certain literary defects, this work is singularly interesting and instructive, and the tale of the wonderful life of de las Casas is told with genuine skill and simplicity. Little need to say that it is based for the most part on the Clerigo's own record in the *Historia General de las Indias*, and reproduces much of the graphic charm which is so characteristic of the original. In their way, nothing is more thrilling than the long-drawn battles between the Apostolic zeal of Las Casas and the Dominicans on behalf of the freedom of the aborigines on the one hand, and the almost incredible cruelty of the gold-seeking Spanish conquerors on the other. The facts show eloquently that from the very dawn of what we call the history of the New World, the Church stood valiantly on the side of liberty. Bartolomé de las Casas was the "First American priest," viz., the first priest ordained in America, and Father Dutto never allows us to forget it, and mentions him repeatedly by that name. One can only say that the American clergy are to be congratulated on their first member, and we think that not often in the course of some four centuries have they surpassed the measure of zeal and sanctity which marked their point of starting. It has been the wont of certain writers to use superlatives when speaking of the corruption of the pre-reformation clergy and the servility of Court preachers. Yet the records of the sixteenth century contain few pages more splendid than the sermon of Father Montesino, or the magnificent protest of the eight Court preachers, who bound themselves

in a league to stand by one another, and then fearlessly marched in a body and bearded the Royal Council in its den, and demanded liberty and justice for the Indians, under peril of God's indignation, and the everlasting damnation of the councillors (p. 227). The good Las Casas was always proposing, indefatigably zealous in drawing up schemes for the protection of his beloved Indians, and the evil genius of the gold-seekers and their courtier friends were unceasingly, and only too successfully, at work in traversing his beneficent proposals. If millions of Christian natives are still to be found in South America, the result is largely due to him and to the good missionaries who became the heirs of his Apostolate. Just in the dark days of 1534 and 1535, when Henry VIII. was severing the Church here from the Centre of Unity, Las Casas, with his friars and his "pedlars four," was entrancing the natives of Tuzulutlan with his Biblical rhymes set to music, and his sacred concerts held under the forest trees by the light of the tropical moon. Surely a subject for the poet or the artist! We cannot express what the Church and America owes to Bishop Las Casas in better words than those which a study of his life and work drew from a non-Catholic and North American writer, John Fiske, in his book on the *Discovery of America*—words very fittingly quoted by Father Dutto as the closing sentences of his own volume :

"In contemplating such a life as that of Las Casas, all words of eulogy seem weak and frivolous. The historian can only bow in reverent awe before a figure which is, in some respects, the most beautiful and sublime in the annals of Christianity since the Apostolic age. When, now and then, in the course of centuries, God's providence brings such a life into this world, the memory of it must be cherished by mankind as one of its most precious and sacred possessions. For the thoughts, the words, the deeds of such a man, there is no death. The sphere of their influence goes on widening for ever. They bud, they blossom, they bear fruit from age to age."

Father Dutto has, on the whole, a good narrative style, but at times his language seems somewhat quaint to the cis-Atlantic reader. A theological tractate may be called a treatise, but not a "treaty" (p. 361). To say "overreached" for overtook (p. 189) is at least ambiguous, and to say "lied" for lay (p. 344) is almost actionable. Nor is it usual for an author to use the colloquial contraction "I'll" in telling his readers

how he is going to treat the subject. To speak of a Dean never relaxing his efforts "until he downed his Bishop," is really somewhat too graphic even for the Church Militant. The note of simplicity is further found in the absence of any such luxuries as introduction, or preface, or index. The very page headings are just plainly and simply the title of the book throughout. If the reader desires to return to any particular passage, he would do well to mark it while he has it. Nevertheless, we are more than grateful to Father Dutto for his useful and interesting volume.

X.

**Fair Rosalind.** By J. E. MUDDOCK. London: John Long. 1902.

THE heroine's fortunes are cast in the days of "Bluff King Hal," who is shown here in the lurid light thrown on him by modern research as a sanguinary-minded tyrant. The plot turns on his Oriental methods of despotism, illustrated by the irresponsible power exercised by his myrmidons, or rather by those of his *alter ego*, Thomas Cromwell, at the period here described in the zenith of his power. In the intrigues of these miscreants the fair and hapless Margaret Sheldrake becomes entangled by her beauty and imprudence, and we have a series of adventures in which she and her friend Rosalind play their parts as innocent victims. Abductions, riots, plot and counter-plot follow each other in rapid succession, forming a narrative that has not a dull page. The resentment aroused by the doings of the Tudor tyrant is vividly presented in the rising of the populace of London to rescue a prisoner under arrest :

"When Weaver heard the shouts of the angry and excited mob in the streets, he rushed to the window and took a hasty glance. The scene that his eye fell upon was not only remarkable, but well calculated to cause even the boldest person some uneasiness. The street seemed packed full of people in a state of rabid excitement. They were armed in the most miscellaneous way—pikes, staves, cudgels, crowbars, sledge-hammers, poles, axes, cross-bows, some muskets and pistols. They were yelling, shouting, struggling, and brandishing their weapons. Some of them carried a huge banner made of black cloth, on which was worked in white tape a gallows with a man suspended from it. Notwithstanding that it was bitterly cold and that the air was

filled with swirling sleet, many of the people were only half clad ; hundreds of them were in their shirt sleeves, while nearly all were bareheaded. Spread over the park, of which the window commanded a full view, was a demoniacal rabble, who were tearing down trees and making huge bonfires, around which some of them danced maniacally as if possessed by the devil. A few women were scattered through the crowd. They were hags of a repulsive type, their faces bloated, their hair dank and towzled streaming down their backs."

Amid these stormy scenes the story of two fair girls runs its course to a more or less tragical conclusion.

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**Forty-five Sermons to meet objections of the Present Day.** By Rev. JAMES MCKERNAN, of the Diocese of Trenton, N.J. New York : Pustet & Co.

WITH few exceptions, these sermons are polemical from first to last, and treat of the usually paraded subjects of dispute between Catholics and those outside the one true Church. The author naturally begins with the "Existence of God," in which we find a clear and complete synopsis of the best metaphysical and theological proofs taught in the schools of the present day. The style is neat and very clear, and the language not outside the comprehension of anyone who can read. Considering the undying daily activity of religious controversy, from the halls of Universities to the pulpit of the village church, and on to the farm labourers even, one may well believe that this handy manual is just the thing much needed to "end disputes about religion." It has the merit of being easily understood by the ordinary reader, and of being a substantially faithful summary of the works that occupied the attention of the student for years. The pastor who may elect to defend some point of doctrine in lieu of his usual Sunday moral exhortation, will possess in these sermons a systematised brief before him, which he has merely to read but not arrange. The sermons are short, the book being somewhat under 300 pages, which we should say is better for the reader's memory and the preacher's notes.

J. N. M.

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**Tractatus de Deo Uno.** Pars 1a. De Pertinentibus ad Divinam Essentiam. Auctore ALEXIO MARIA LEPICIER, Ord. Serv. B.M.V. Parisiis : P. Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 566. 8 frs.

THIS volume is one of the series of theological treatises based upon the text of St. Thomas, which may be regarded as the valuable fruit of the encouragement which Leo XIII. has so conspicuously given to Thomistic studies. The present work deals with that portion of the *Summa*, which is found in Pars 1a. from question i. to xiii. inclusively. The author is the learned Servite, the Rev. A. Lepicier, who is Professor of Theology at the Propaganda, and is already known by his treatise *De Beatà Maria Virgine*, honoured with a special brief of commendation by the Sovereign Pontiff. The method which the author has adopted is one which largely succeeds in putting the theological student in possession of the pith of what is to be found in the *Summa*, while presenting it in a more readily accessible form, and combining with it manifold references to writers in later times. We note that Father Lepicier, in treating of the distinction of *essence* and *Esse* in *Creaturis* (p. i., g. iii., a. iv.), traverses the conclusions of Professor Schell as to God's essence being traced to His Omnipotence, as its revelation (p. 177). He also points out that Cardinal Newman, in the *Grammar of Assent*, was less than accurate when he demurred at the acceptance as an intuitive truth of the axiom that everything must have a cause, and shows satisfactorily that the fact of God being without cause, cannot, as transcendental, be regarded as an exception to the law (p. 144). We have no doubt that students of St. Thomas and those who seek sound philosophy where alone it is to be found, will derive both profit and pleasure from the volume which Father Lepicier has just given to the public. Y.

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**A Dictionary of the Bible**, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including Biblical Theology. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D. Volume IV. Edinburgh : T. and J. Clark. 1902.

THE fourth and concluding volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* has recently appeared; it is announced, however, that there is to be a supplementary volume of indexes and certain subsidiary articles. The present volume is larger than any of its predecessors, running to a thousand

double-columned quarto pages of small but clear type. What has been said here concerning the other volumes may be said in general of this one : the standpoint is that blend of criticism with moderate Anglican orthodoxy which is characteristic of English scholarship. Consequently Catholic students will find this Dictionary more useful than the rival *Encyclopædia Biblica*, which represents no standard school whatever, even of continental rationalism. It is no doubt due to the fact that two great biblical dictionaries are being simultaneously produced in England that it has been found necessary, or convenient, to call in German assistance in both undertakings. Hitherto this foreign element has been small in Hastings' Dictionary ; but in the fourth volume it has grown to a considerable magnitude. We have counted fifteen articles, and some of them long and important ones, that come from Germany—all, it must be said, from the pens of scholars of the first rank. Thus, Budde writes on Hebrew Poetry, Baudissin on Priests and Levites, Strack on the Text of the Old Testament ; while to Nestle we owe four considerable and excellent contributions, on the Septuagint, on the Book of Sirach (*Ecclesiasticus*), on the Syriac Versions, and on the Text of the New Testament. But good as these articles are, it would be easy to name English-speaking scholars who could have done them just as well. It seems a pity that just a little more trouble was not taken so as to keep the work exclusively English. Among the more properly theological articles may be mentioned those on Predestination, Prophecy, Sacrament, Sacrifice, Salvation ; and, in particular, those on the two great Gospel titles of our Lord, "Son of God" (*Sanday*) and "Son of Man" (*Driver*), which admirably sum up the considerable recent discussions among prominent Orientalists.

When noticing the third volume, we called especial attention to Dr. Chase's treatment of the Petrine texts in his article on St. Peter ; this volume contains a similarly candid and valuable discussion of the import of the text in Matt. xvi. 19 by another of the Cambridge Divinity Professors, Dr. Mason, in his article on the Power of the Keys. According to him, the text constituted St. Peter the chief steward or major-domo of the House of the Lord, "entrusted with full authority over everything which the house contains"; and he sums up : "The power of binding and loosing is, in fact, the power of legislation for the Church."

The article on the Vulgate by Mr. White, co-editor with

Bishop Wordsworth of the Vulgate New Testament, is quite a monograph, occupying seventeen pages. A full account is given of St. Jerome's life in so far as it was connected with his great biblical work, and of the circumstances of the translation or revision of each book; then the process is traced whereby the new version gradually made its way in the Western Church, and at length came into general use; the various attempts are described which were made to purify the text from the corruptions that, in course of time, invaded it, and the story of the Sixtine and Clementine editions is once more told, but with moderation. Next follows a critical discussion of the character of the MSS. used by St. Jerome; and the article closes with a catalogue of the chief Vulgate MSS. grouped according to families and countries—in all, a highly useful article. That by Dr. Kenyon on Writing, illustrated by five plates, gives in brief the broad facts of the most modern paleographic science.

Of the work as a whole it may be said that, while it contains much that would not be found in a Catholic dictionary, it will prove a valuable help to serious Catholic students of the Bible.

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E. C. B.

**The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary.** By JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 8vo pp. 430. 7/6.

THE above is, to our mind, one of the most remarkable and most valuable works published in our time; and we warmly commend it to the consideration of all Catholic readers. We take it that a greater service could hardly be rendered to the British public than the production of a really honest and reliable history of the English Reformation. Of all periods in our annals it is the one which has hitherto suffered most from idealisation, and has been most beclouded by the misrepresentations which are born of religious prejudice and bigotry. We are not for a moment unmindful of what Lingard has done for this as well as other parts of English history, and of what Abbot Gasquet has achieved for the history of the Prayer Book and the suppression of the monasteries; and we have seen in the results of both how, happily, much can be effected in these days by careful and conscientious research to



rectify the traditional misconceptions of public opinion. In the present work we have the same service done for the crucial period of the English Reformation, and by a writer who is pre-eminently qualified to command the confidence of all students of English history. In the first place, Mr. Gairdner, as a non-Catholic, can speak to the British public without any suspicion of even unconscious bias in favour of Catholicism in the treatment of a subject so distinctly controversial. In the second place, Mr. Gairdner is well known as the successor of Mr. Brewer in the editing of the volumes of the State-papers of the Reformation period, and there are few men who have devoted more of their life and labour to the actual contact with the records, and to intimate study of the facts which enter into this period of national history. The reader of the book will find that these qualifications have left their stamp upon its pages. The volume throughout is one in which the interest of the narrative never flags. It has all the charm which is derived from the touch of original documents and the acquaintance with concrete facts; and the reader feels that he is made to live in the period. Instead of having to wade through abstract reflections and tendency rhetoric, he is brought face to face with the actual sayings and doings of the time, and the men and women of the day become living characters, and the events of the day become as real as if he had witnessed them in the happening. It would be impossible to summarise within the compass of a review, even in a general way, any substantial part of the wealth of information which the author has condensed in his account of the three reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary. But we may point out certain broad conclusions which we think the reader will find indelibly impressed upon his mind by the impact of the evidence set before him.

In the first place, no one can fail to recognise the overwhelmingly preponderant part which the divorce matter—"the king's business"—had in the separation of this country from the Holy See. The utter iniquity of the king's purpose and the unscrupulousness of the methods employed to effect it are laid bare in all their revolting nakedness. (In this we have—if, indeed, it were at all needed—a timely and crushing refutation of an impudent attempt which has been quite recently made to whitewash Henry VIII., and to represent him to be not only a masterful and clever ruler—which he certainly was—but a good and conscientious man, which he as certainly was not).

As compared with the king's wretched proceedings, the servility of his agents with their sordid mixture of lying and bullying, the action of Clement VII. and the Roman Court stands out, on the whole, amid stupendous difficulties, as one of integrity marked by no small measure of patience and dignity. The steady infiltration of Protestantism from Germany into England through the patronage of Cranmer and his friends, even during the life-time of Henry VIII., is another point which is made clear by a host of undeniable indications. The ability and acumen of Wolsey as a statesman, combined with the contemptible opportunism to which he appears to have been ready to sacrifice justice and principle in the interests of his master, are depicted very clearly in the picture drawn by Mr. Gairdner, and are independently confirmed by the evidence contained in the remarkable article which Mgr. Ehses has recently contributed to the literary supplement of the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*.<sup>\*</sup> We may add that other notable features in Mr. Gairdner's work are a fairer judgment of Bishop Bonner, and a further illustration of the unreliability of the pictures drawn in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

With the facts which the author has so admirably grasped and marshalled in these pages the Catholic reader will assuredly have no quarrel. But occasionally—very rarely indeed—there may be a sentence expressive of personal comment or view from which a Catholic may feel compelled to dissent. When, for instance, Mr. Gairdner speaks (p. 187) of the action of Henry VIII. in seeking to ally himself with the German Reformers, as not having elicited from Convocation "anything whatever like a breach with old Catholic principles," he is, of course, using the word Catholic in the modern Anglican sense, and not in the sense in which it was understood and received by generations of the English Church and people before the Reformation.

According to Archbishop Arundel and the Convocation of his time, Papal supremacy, as a Divine institution, was a principle of Catholic faith: "The sayth and determination of Holy Church is this, that Christ made St. Peter the Apostle His Vicar here on earth, and gave the same power to all St. Peter's successors, the which we now call Popes of Rome"—so much so, in fact, that the English Church sent Wycliffites to the stake for denying it. It would be impertinence on our part to assume

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<sup>\*</sup> See *Tablet*, September 20th, 1902.

that Mr. Gairdner is not aware that bishops like St. Ambrose and Grossetete ; kings like Edward II. and Edward III. ; lawyers like Bracton, and canonists like Lyndewode, are all at one as witnesses to the same inclusion of Papal supremacy in the "old Catholic principles" of English faith and practice.

In like manner when the author implies that the Anglican liturgy was formed by the translation of the ancient formularies, he omits to remind the reader of the notorious fact which any one can see for himself by the mere juxtaposition of the one and the other—namely, that the process was one not merely of translation, but of ruthless evisceration ; and that both Prayer Book and Ordinal have drawn abundantly from German sources the material to fill up the *lacunæ* made by the excision of the sacrificial and sacerdotal element which pervaded the ancient liturgy. It is still more a matter for surprise that he should have committed himself to the opinion that the liturgy thus formed was really more Catholic than that of the Council of Trent. As a matter of fact, the Anglican liturgy, by its deliberate omission of the sacrificial Eucharistic passages, of the invocation of the saints, and of prayer for the dead, so far from being Catholic, is irredeemably local and modern, and quite *sui generis* ; and is absolutely cut off from anything to be found in the liturgies of East or West, and allied both in matter and structure to the German Protestant formularies to which it owes so much. But here, no doubt, the word Catholic has been used only in the Anglican sense of the term "comprehensive" ; and nothing more is meant than the obvious fact that the Anglican liturgy, by its compromises, was constructed to include all sections of those who, under the new settlement of religion, doubted or denied the ancient Catholic doctrines.

But such passages are indeed very few and occasional in the course of this excellent volume ; and, in our gratitude for so much good work so conscientiously done, we can well afford to let pass observations in which we feel, of course, that we are listening not to Mr. Gairdner the historian, for whom we have profound respect, but to Mr. Gairdner the theologian. Perhaps a more serious defect is the way in which the author seems at times to incline to the Erastian view that the title of Supreme Head conveyed "no new powers," and that the "temporal sovereign, the king, must be supreme even over the Church within his own kingdom." It is not too much to say that such a doctrine was in direct contradiction to the whole religious and

national life of England before the Reformation. The independence of the spiritual authority and the co-ordinate supremacy of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, each in its own sphere, is one of the most prominent and well-known features of pre-Reformation English history. We find it eloquently proclaimed by St. Ambrose, by St. Thomas à Becket, by Peckham, by Stratford in his famous speech in Palace Yard, and never so clearly as in the very last document which Warham penned a few months before his death in 1532. To Catholics, then as now, the independence of the two powers has been, and must ever be, the very palladium of civil and religious liberty. In conclusion, we have only to repeat that it is a matter for sincere congratulation that the treatment of this critical period of English history should have fallen into the able hands of Mr. Gairdner; and we have no doubt that his labours will bear excellent fruit in the formation of a sounder, juster, fuller, and more intelligent insight into the whole history of the English Reformation.

M.

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**Encyclopædia Britannica.** New Volumes. Vol. XXV., 4to, pp. 808. Vol. XXVI., 4to, pp. 706. London and Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black; *The Times*, Printing House Square.

THE New or Tenth Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is already well known to the reading public, and the country is to be congratulated on the completeness and comprehensiveness of this great work of national and monumental importance. Those who had already upon their shelves the ninth edition, which had held its ground for so many years as the chief work of reference, might well feel something of regret in seeing their possession eclipsed and put in the background by the newer and more up-to-date publication. Happily the editors have found an ingenious way of adding the new to the old. The additional matter which has entered into the tenth edition has been published separately in a series of volumes, which can be added as a supplementary set to those already included in the ninth. Thus the ninth edition, plus the new volumes, becomes equivalent to the tenth.

In the volumes above-mentioned, the first and second of the new series, the editors, Sir Donald MacKenzie Wallace, foreign editor of the *Times*, Mr. Arthur Hadley, President of Yale, and Mr. Hugh Chisholm have given excellent proof of the skill and efficiency which they have brought to the fulfilment of their task. Several of the articles—such as those upon Algebra and Agriculture—exceed 50 folio pages, and really constitute in themselves valuable monographs on their respective subjects. The geographical and scientific articles are especially remarkable for their exhaustive and conscientious treatment, and the student who refers to them will find in a condensed and accessible form a wealth of information which could be gained elsewhere only by a long research and a wide course of reading. If he should desire to go further, he will find at the end of each article a most valuable summary of authorities which make up the literature of the subject, and which he may consult for ampler information.

A notable feature of these new volumes is the superior quality of the paper, printing, and illustrations. The progress which has been made in the art of illustration since the issue of the older edition is made very evident upon the pages of the new. The editors have done something to give an artistic charm to their work by giving full-page size plates of the chief works of the great artists who are the subject of notice in the articles. A note in a preliminary pamphlet issued by the publishers informs us that the new volumes contain 10,000 articles by 1,000 contributors, 150 full-page plates, 125 coloured maps, and 2,300 other illustrations.

The articles are always instructive and generally replete with information. Those upon the Catholic Church, by his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, and by his Eminence Cardinal Gibbons (which will appear in a later volume), will have a special interest for Catholic readers. We are glad to find that the editors have followed the wise precedent of entrusting the treatment of such a subject to those who naturally can speak upon it with most knowledge and authority; although apparently they have found it necessary to refer the reader by way of antidote to a counter article entitled "Vaticanism," written presumably from the usual anti-clerical and Freemasonic point of view. However, that may be due to a feeling that upon subjects of a distinctly controversial kind, it is due to the public that there should be a presentment of both sides of the question.

Of an equitable arrangement of that kind we should have no reason to complain. On the contrary, our grievance is that it has not been carried out in one case in which fairness would have most urgently demanded it—namely, the article on Anglican Orders. The article in question stands out as an exception to the rest of the volume by its utter inaccuracy and undisguised bias. Obviously, such an article ought to have been confided to some impartial writer, neither an Anglican or Catholic, or if such could not be found with the requisite knowledge, then a double article, in which both sides would be duly presented by two writers, one Catholic and one Anglican, ought to have been inserted. Neither course has been adopted. Professor Collins, the theological editor of the *Encyclopædia*, who himself took a notable part in the Anglican side of the controversy, and acted as a protagonist in the attack on the Pope's Bull on the subject, seems to have had the assigning of the *Encyclopædia*'s article on "Anglican Orders." He has entrusted it to an Anglican clergyman, the Rev. M. Frere, a member of Bishop Gore's Community of the Resurrection, and one who has been associated with him in the work of Anglican defence. We submit that it is putting a remarkable strain upon the impartiality of a writer when an Anglican clergyman is asked to write down what he can say for the validity of his own orders. As a result the article is glaringly partisan and one-sided, and what is worse, for the most part a tissue of inaccuracies.\* In dictionaries or encyclopædias of private venture, misrepresentation and partiality may not, perhaps, cause surprise, but that such an *ex-parte* treatment of an important subject should have been allowed to be foisted upon the British public in a work of national reference seems to us not only unworthy, but a weakness which borders on a breach of trust on the part of the editors. The insinuation made at the close of the article that the Papal decision against Anglican Orders is not regarded as definitive by certain Catholics, ought to have been impossible in view of Leo XIII.'s own declaration that his judgment delivered on the matter is "fixed, settled, and irrevocable" (*firmum, ratum et irrevocabile*). However, this article is but one blot in the midst of a mass of excellent matter, admirably compiled and edited, and it certainly cannot be allowed to affect the meed of admiration which is undoubtedly due to the volumes as a whole. If we have given

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\* Some of these may be seen noticed in the *Tablet* of May 17th, 1902, p. 761.

a disproportionate space to the notice of such defects, it is only because we recognize the *Encyclopædia Britannica* as a national work, in whose trustworthiness and perfection all of us may claim to have an abiding interest.

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## Books Received.

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**Symbolik des Kirchen-bäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Auffassung des Mittelalters.** Von Dr. Joseph Sauer. Freiburg : Herder. 8vo, pp. 410. M.6.50.

**Der jungst wiederaufgefundene Hebraische Text des Buches Ecclesiasticus.** Von Dr. Norbert Peters. Freiburg : Herder. 8vo, pp. 445. M.10.

**St. Teresa's Own Words.** By Bishop Chadwick. London : Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 39. 1s.

**La Mère de Dieu et la Mère des hommes.** II. Partie, La Mère des hommes. Par Rev. P. J. Terrien, S.J. Paris : P. Lethielleux. 8vo, pp. 550.

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**Granville History Readers.** Books 2 and 3. History of England. By Thos. J. Livesey. London : Burns & Oates. 8vo, pp. 207-225. 1s. 3d.-1s. 6d.

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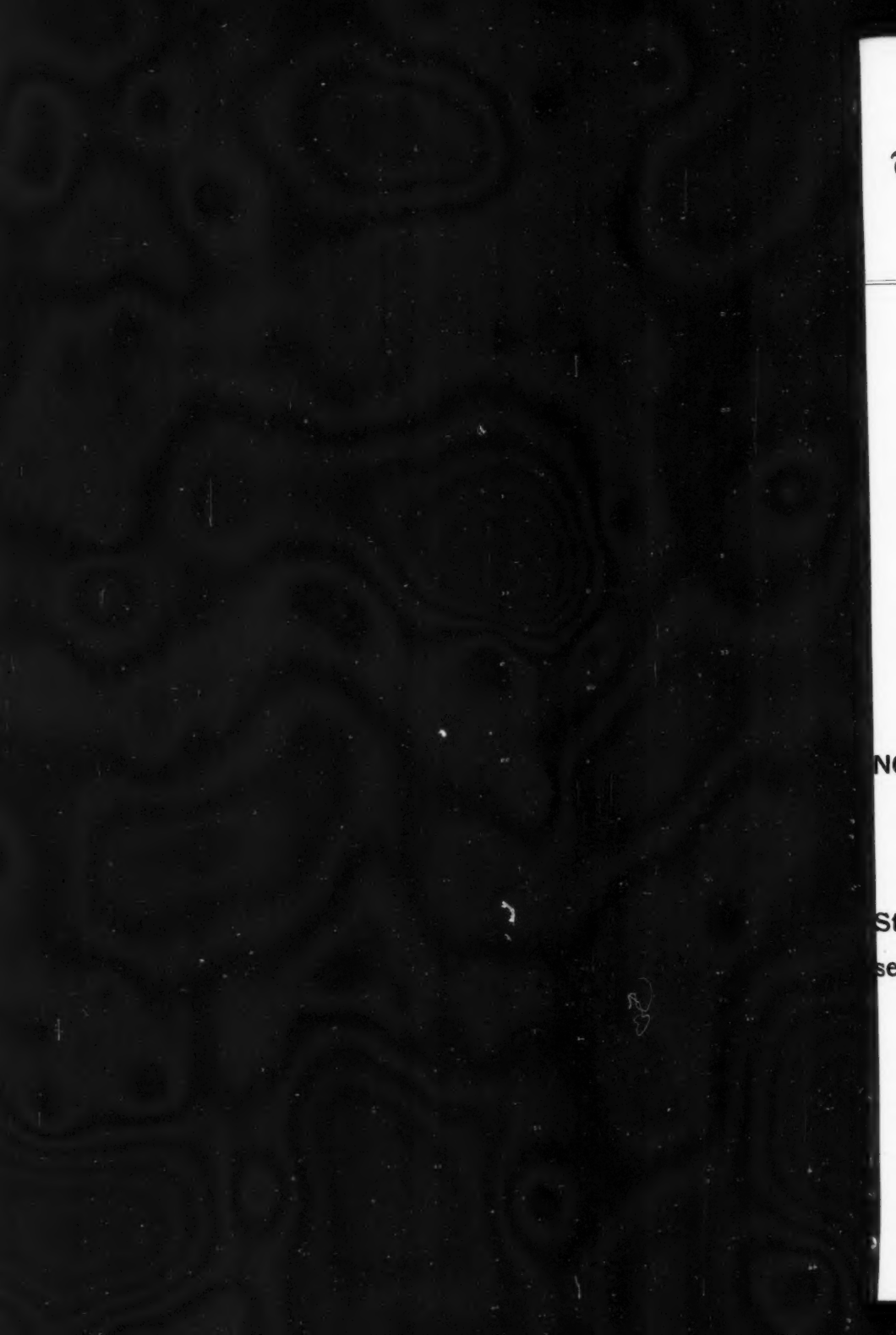
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